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GERMAN PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

by

H. CLIFFORD FOX

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Department of History, in the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa

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PREFACE

The history of German Presbyterianism in the Upper Mississippi Valley revolves around men like Peter Flury, Adrian Van Vliet, and Jacob Conzett. While in this study leaders have been given a predominant place, an attempt has been made to deal with the obscurer pastors and laymen as well as the circumstances in which they lived, worked, and worshipped.

This dissertation has been written from a secular point of view. Accordingly, theological problems and exegetical minutiae have been given small attention. Yet, the treatment has not been unsympathetic toward the influences which have produced this thread of social history.

The writer is indebted to many individuals who have assisted in gathering material. He is especially indebted to his advisors William J. Petersen and H. J. Thornton for valuable advice and inspiration. Also to Evah Ostrander, Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary, Irene O. Wunderlich, Dubuque, Iowa, Mrs. Kathleen Beardsley Andrew, Platteville, Wisconsin, Ernest J. Boell, Dubuque, Iowa, John E. Drake, Cedar Falls, Iowa, and Theodore Faville, Madison, Wisconsin. He also owes a debt of gratitude to Franz Cohrt and David Gelzer who assisted in German script translation; to Marian Loetscher for proof reading the dissertation, and Cathrine Bailey for her patience and fortitude in typing the thesis.

H. Clifford Fox,
Iowa City,
August 1, 1941

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Chapter 1

EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

1.

The Calvinistic Foundation

It was Martin Luther who broke the mold of the church. His work was the culmination of a growing liberal interpretation of religion beginning with John Wycliffe and progressing through such leaders as John Huss, Johann Reuchlin, and Desiderius Erasmus.[1] That the Protestant Revolt was not complete with the work of Luther is evidenced by the many leaders and sects which sprang into prominence, influencing either their particular locality, or a wider area. Among these leaders was John Calvin.

John Calvin's special significance as a leader of the reformation lay in three areas. In the first place his "influence extended far beyond Geneva"; at least one describing him as the "only international reformer"[2] of the reformation period. In the second place his Institutes of the Christian Religion formed not only the ablest defense of the Protestant movement up to that time but also has served as the basic theology of all Calvinistic churches. Calvin's early association with the Catholic Church and his background of legal training, combined with his interest and study in classical learning, gave him unique intellectual equipment with which to formulate these Protestant dogmatics. The influence of the Institutes goes beyond the Presbyterian church. According to William Cunningham, it is the most important single Protestant theological work ever produced. Moreover, Cunningham states, "It may be said to occupy in the science of theology the place it requires both the Novum Organum of Bacon and the Principia of Newton to fill up in physical science."[3] While this has the sound of hyperbole, it is comparatively conservative when compared with statements of other critics of Calvin and his Institutes.

In the third place Calvin established the principle of church jurisdiction independent of secular authori-

ties. The churches established by Paul and other apostles served as his model. These churches, Calvin discovered, were governed by "pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons who enter on their charges with the assent of the congregation that they serve" and claimed for the church "full and independent jurisdiction in discipline up to the point of excommunication." It was this retention of freedom, however, which all the other leaders of the Reformation had abandoned to state supervision.[4]

It was in forming these broad concepts of Protestantism and reducing them to a clarified system, that Calvin made his greatest contribution. Walker has suggested that his "mind was formative rather than creative," that he depended on Luther's justification by faith, and sacraments as seals of God's promises as well as on Butzer[5] who taught the glory of God as that for which all things are created and election as the doctrine of conformity to the will of God.[6] Calvin's place in history is secure. He is responsible for the Calvinistic form of church government, the principles of separation of church and state, and the theological bases for the Presbyterian church.

Calvin's influence quickly extended beyond Geneva. His Institutes and his pattern of church government as well as his academy, commentaries, and correspondence carried into France, the Netherlands, Scotland and England the ideals of Protestantism. In turn each of these countries developed churches which were to adopt the Calvinistic principles of theology. It must be understood that Presbyterianism is a form of church government, not a theology. But all the churches following the Calvinistic theology and the Presbyterian form of government are not identified by the name Presbyterian. The Huguenots ("oath companions") are both Calvinistic in theology and Presbyterian in government. The German and Dutch Reformed churches were originally Lutheran but rejected Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation for Calvin's theology of sacramental symbolism. After the Synod of Dort in 1618 they both adopted Calvinistic theology and Presbyterian polity. The Scotch Presbyterian (Covenantor) church follows the same theology and government as the other Calvinistic churches. In England the Puritans and Separatists were both Calvinists. They differed in polity but not in theology. The former were to become allied with the Presbyterians, but the latter were to become Independents in England and Congregationalists in America. This sect did not follow the Presbyterian polity, but developed the Congregational

control of church government. Instead of elected Elders, the whole congregation, after the fashion of a New England town meeting, regulates the church matters. Elected officers are empowered to carry out the wishes of the congregation only. Even the minister is a member of the congregation and has but equal power with other members. Moreover, the Congregational churches do not have any appellate or superior judicial bodies like presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, although they do have associations to clarify and verify practices, by common consent.

2.

Organization of the French Church

It was in France that the Calvinistic doctrine resulted in the formation of church government which linked it definitely with the Scottish Reformation. This French Huguenot movement was different from the reform in Germany and Switzerland. While it was purely Calvinistic, it was not national as in Germany, nor was it a politico-religious experiment like that of Geneva. Antecedently, an evangelical ferment within the Catholic church had been led by Jacques d'Etaples Lefevre whose influence began at Meaux and spread throughout France. But the timidity of the leaders and the rashness of the rank and file was largely responsible for the failure of the first evangelical phase of Protestantism in France. Lefevre died in 1536, the same year in which Calvin's Institutes were published in France and a new phase of Protestantism - revolt - began. With revolt came persecution.

Persecution of the Huguenots by the French royalists blew hot and cold depending on the alliances in force at the time. When France was friendly with Spain persecution was meted out with a heavy hand, but when France drew close to Protestant allies persecution was slackened. The Huguenots drew persecution for political reasons as well as for religious nonconformity. In the first place many "political malcontents" joined the Huguenot group. In the second place certain aspirants of the family of Navarre to the French throne (Henry IV in particular) were identified with the Protestant party. The political struggle with the Guise house for possession of the French throne was a combination of political and religious struggles so interwoven that historians cannot separate them. In the third place the Edict of Nantes (April, 1598) was the culmination and consolidation of the privileges which the Calvinists already

possessed by previous declarations and edicts. The Cambridge Modern History states that the Protestants were granted the right to convene religious synods and to hold political assemblies with royal permission while they retained the complete control of the 200 cities which they still held, "including such powerful strongholds as La Rochelle, Montpelier, and Mont Auban."[7] They secured special educational rights with financial aid from the King and private donors, special courts (chambres de l'Edicts), and freedom of worship with minor restrictions.

The religious privileges did not constitute complete liberty while the political privileges created a dangerous imperium in imperio. The latter partially caused the persecution which Huguenots experienced at the hands of Richelieu and more so from Louis XIV.

But the Edict of Nantes came so late that it saved only a remnant of Calvinism in France. The Huguenots received their greatest loss shortly after their numbers had reached about three hundred thousand.[8] Further persecution after the death of Henry IV and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, in 1695, completed the rout of the Huguenots, and it was not until the French Revolution that the remnant reorganized into an active religious body.[9]

But the significance of the Protestant movement in France is that in the year 1559 the French Calvinists formed a united church organization on the principles of Presbyterial polity laid down by John Calvin at Geneva. In the spring of that year the first French Protestant Synod was opened at Paris. Through fear of persecution it was held in "haste and secrecy." Charles Hodge, one of the official historians of the Presbyterian church, discussing the Calvinists in France shows that they perfected a national religious organization. Individual churches, equal in power but independent, controlled by a pastor, a consistory of elders, and deacons were organized. Groups of neighboring churches organized into assemblies or colloquies (presbyteries). The colloquies in turn formed a provincial synod and above all was set up the national synod.[10] The confession of Faith was based on one sent by Calvin "to the King of France" in 1557. Its language is "singularly clear and noble" and is doubtless, with a few alterations, the work of the Geneva reformer.

For the first time, then, in France we have a practical application of Calvin's principles of theology and

church polity. His confession of Faith and Presbyterian form of church government were adopted separating distinctly the church from the State.

3.

The Scotch Church Becomes Presbyterian

The Knoxian reform in Scotland was at one and the same time a political revolt: to drive out the Guise faction and to defend the protestant faith against the political schemes of Mary Queen of Scots. John Knox became the leader of a movement ready for coalescence into a religio-political revolt.[11]

The way had been prepared for Knox by such Scottish martyrs as Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart. In political affairs Scotland was torn by a conflict between England and Scotland, and by Mary of Guise's attempt to reduce Scotland to French Catholic domination. But the Guise faction was unable "to control the turbulent Scottish nobles... [who] bitterly resented the French domination and gave their support to the Protestant preachers."[12]

John Knox returned to Scotland from his self exile in Frankfort and Geneva in 1557. For a period of ten months he preached Protestantism and patriotism. Nobles, small land-owners, townsmen and peasants were drawn to the standard of opposition against Catholicism and the Guise faction. Many of the nobles accepted Protestantism either because of conviction or because of political reasons. They with Knox, Muir points out, called a national meeting or covenant of "nobles, preachers, lairds, and burghers" which is known as the "Congregation of the Lord." A spokesman group, "The Lords of the Congregation," led the movement, with the aid of English troops, to victory.[13]

As soon as the French were eliminated, Knox turned to the completion of the religious settlement. The experience and training he received at Frankfort and Geneva, where he was pastor of an English congregation and had helped to formulate the Confession of Faith, stamped upon him the principles of strict Calvinism. Out of this experience he wrote the Scottish Confession of Faith.

The year 1560 saw the culmination of Knox's work in Scotland. In quick succession the confession of Faith appeared, papal jurisdiction was abolished, and

the mass proscribed. In December a meeting was held which is regarded as the "first Scottish 'general assembly'." The following month the First Book of Discipline was presented to Parliament. It was Calvin's Geneva system applied to a whole kingdom.

As in France, the importance of the Scottish reform movement is that the Calvinistic form of faith and the Presbyterian church polity were adopted. Ministers, elders, and deacons were responsible to the congregation, while the church existed independently of the state.

It was natural when the plantation of Ulster was established that Scotch Presbyterianism should become Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism and form the third link in this growing chain of influence.

4.

The Presbyterian Church Emerges in England

The seeds of Puritanism lie in the English Protestant Revolt. What was Protestant as differentiated from Roman Catholic was in no wise a matter of common agreement. Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, Calvinism, Anglicanism, and Puritanism were all in accord in their opposition to Rome. They differed only in the degree of their opposition, not in principle. For some religious leaders to move farther to the "left" than others was but natural.

The influence that directly relates to the Puritan movement, was brought into England by the Marian exiles who had come in contact with the teachings of Zwingli and Calvin in Zurich and Geneva respectively. Such men as Thomas Cartwright, Walter Travers, Robert Browne, and Henry Barrow were honest and sincere in their religious convictions. They believed that Anglicanism was a move in the right direction, but that it had stopped far short of its logical goal. Their duty was to assist the English church to "purge from its services" remnants of Roman "superstition," and procure in every parish "an earnest, spiritual-minded, preaching minister."[14]

The non-conformists, identified as Puritans, wanted to remain within the church and purify it. A more radical group, commonly called "separatists" or "Brownists"—led by Robert Browne, believed in achieving their goal at once by separating from the Anglicans and establishing a distinct church organization.

During the latter days of Queen Elizabeth's reign the religious ideologies did not break out in general conflict although there were numerous local incidents. However, with the Stuart accession to the throne, skillful direction of the dangerous religious cross-currents were replaced by obstinate blundering. In the face of royalist opposition the Puritans and Separatists came to a conclusion which profoundly affected the course of English history. If the church, its ritual, prayer book, and Confession of Faith were controlled by parliament and the king and no change or reform could be accomplished except through the consent of those political powers, then it was reasonable and logical for the nonconformists to enter politics to achieve their ends. This they did. The rising religio-political opposition to king and Anglican-parliamentary group produced struggles which rent England. Parliaments were called and dismissed. The Petition of Right was forced upon a reluctant king. Civil war broke out. The king was executed. The non-conformists seized power and forced their minority will upon the state through force of arms and dictatorship, but ultimately failed. Then came the restoration and with it the decline of Puritanism in England.

But out of all this evolved a religious alignment which, so far as England and America are concerned, became permanent - a religio-political alignment of Anglicans (the Episcopal church), Puritans (Presbyterians), and Separatists (Congregationalists). "The Episcopal church," William Thompson Hansche points out, "was the Royalist party; the Presbyterian church was the Parliamentarian party; and the rapidly growing Independents, led by Cromwell, became the party of the people."[15]

Out of the religious cross currents in England developed an incident of great importance to American Presbyterianism. In 1643 there met, at the call of Parliament, the Westminster Assembly of Divines. According to Loetscher this Assembly "was controlled by men of Presbyterian convictions, and the documents which this body composed - the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Directory of Public Worship - are in our own day, with slight modifications, the official doctrinal and liturgical standards of the great bulk of Presbyterian churches the world over."[16]

The Presbyterian branch of the non-conformist movement in England never became more than a minority faction. After the restoration it might have been completely

eliminated had it not been for the powerful Scotch and Scotch-Irish influences and the influx of French Calvinists following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Several influences operated to keep it a small minority group: the harsh repressive laws of the Stuart reaction (the Clarendon Code), the struggles among the non-conformists, and the wave of migration to the English colonies in America.

Up to this point the writer has endeavored to show that the Reformation was a conflict of ideas which resulted in the division of the western Christian church into two parts, the one identified as the Protestant and the other as Roman Catholic; that following Luther's and Melancthon's contributions Calvin laid the basis for Presbyterian theology in the Institutes which became identified with churches following the Calvinistic faith, extended the Revolt through his influence and the influence of the Geneva academy throughout Europe, and outlined a system of church government which was democratic and independent of the state; that first in France, then in Scotland, and finally in England the doctrinal principles and church polity of Calvin were adopted. The conscious integration of these and other Calvinistic systems did not take place until a later period but the potential unification of a common Presbyterian system was present. The common meeting ground of these separate offsprings of Calvin's influence was to be in America.

Chapter 2

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ORGANIZES IN AMERICA

1.

Laying the Foundations

The general causes of migration to America are not pertinent to this discussion. As to religious motives, some colonists came like the Moravians to do missionary work, but the majority came to escape persecutions. Quakers, Puritans, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, French Huguenots, German Palatines of either Lutheran or German Reformed faith, Dutch Reformed, Roman Catholics, and Anglicans fled from secular and religious authorities which were antagonistic to their religious beliefs at the time and place of their emigrations. It was the Calvinists, however, who came to America in greatest numbers and gave to the new world their ideas of religion and culture. Moreover, up to 1680 nine-tenths of the Calvinists were of English stock, and it was not until after that date that non-English immigrants began to arrive in larger numbers. By 1760 the foreign born represented a third of the colonial population. Although eventually special linguistic groups of Presbyterians were to emerge on the American frontier it must be remembered that the basic Calvinistic religion was of English origin.

When the English colonists came they encountered a new and totally different environment. Three thousand miles of trackless ocean separated them from the mother country, an ocean which required months of hardship in the crossing. A dense wilderness inhabited by hostile Indians was before them. Strange flora and fauna, a new and untried climate, and a different type of soil, all served to increase their task of adaptation. Common problems of health, political organization, satisfaction of economic needs, and social adjustment compelled a leveling of classes until a stable society was established. Moreover the paradoxes of English home policies and colonial control, which in the beginning were confusing to the colonists, they ultimately learned

to turn to their advantage.

The paradoxes of English policies and the new environment gave to the colonists religious toleration in opposition to religious regulation in England and a large measure of economic freedom against an attempt to enforce mercantilism on the English merchants. Likewise they enjoyed a large measure of political self-determination under liberal charters while in England a fierce parliamentary struggle against the king for the same measure of self-government precipitated a civil war. These same paradoxes of English policies and the American environment made it possible for Congregationalism in Massachusetts to become dominant while in England it was never more than a minor faction; for Presbyterianism to find an opportunity to establish its churches in Long Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the southern colonies while it was never accepted in England as a dominant sect and had to fight for its existence in Scotland; and for the Quakers to practice freely their religious beliefs in Pennsylvania while they as a sect were persecuted from all sides in England.

Presbyterianism, as a distinct religious group, was slow to develop in the colonies although Calvinism remained dominant. The settlers in Massachusetts had accepted, in principle, their connection with the Established Church, but on arriving in America they set up a modified form of church government which was a combination of Independency, on the one hand, and Presbyterianism on the other, and has been described as the "New England way." According to Hansche both Pilgrims and Puritans in America "were Calvinistic in theology and Congregational in polity. New England Congregationalism was an American invention."[1] Moreover non-British migration to America did not develop to a great extent prior to 1680. Those who did come to the colonies as avowed Presbyterians were individuals, rather than groups, who became absorbed in other religious organizations already established. Charles Hodge asserts that in most instances, only gradually they became sufficiently numerous in any one place to form congregations, or to associate in a presbyterial capacity.[2] Inasmuch as Puritans and Independents coming to America mixed a little of Independency with Presbyterianism, it is often difficult to determine whether any single congregation was more Presbyterian than Congregational or, if it changed from Congregationalism to Presbyterianism, when the change was complete enough to designate it definitely as the latter. In short, the very beginnings of Presbyterianism in America is obscure.

As time went on, however, and more colonists came to America from Scotland and the northern part of Ireland, isolated congregations made their appearance. Gradually groups of churches were formed until in 1706 the sect was large enough to hold its first Presbytery at Philadelphia.[3] If the exact date of the first Presbytery is indefinite, the date of the first Presbyterian church established in America is even more obscure. The Records of the Presbyterian church show that it was organized in Philadelphia, "about the year 1698; and it is probable that the churches at Snowhill, Rehoboth, Monokin, and Wicomico, on the Eastern shore of Maryland, were organized about the same period."[4] It was indeed a small beginning.

Francis McKemie is credited with calling together the first Presbytery in America. Of Scotch-Irish descent, McKemie emigrated to the colonies in 1683.[5] By occupation he was a West Indian trader and by choice an itinerant preacher of staunch Presbyterian faith. McKemie was arrested in New York in 1707 for preaching without a license. He was tried and exonerated, but by order of Governor Cornbury, was obliged to pay the court costs. The incident had far reaching effects in that it resulted in the recall of Governor Cornbury and won religious toleration for Protestant dissenters in New York.[6]

It was at Philadelphia in 1705 that McKemie met with six other Presbyterian ministers to work out a program for organizing the Presbyterian church. Four members of this group - John Hampton, George McNish, Samuel Davis, and McKemie - came from Northern Ireland and were preaching in Eastern Maryland. Two others, Nathaniel Taylor and John Wilson, came from Scotland and were preaching in Marlborough and New Castle respectively. Jedediah Andrews, a New Englander, had charge of the Philadelphia congregation. In 1706 John Boyd, a preacher located in Freehold, New Jersey, was added by ordination.[7] All these congregations were poor, but the ministers were loyal. They struggled not only to take care of their own congregations but also to "supply neighboring desolate places where a minister is wanting, and opportunity of doing good offers." No doubt their remuneration was small and paid in kind and hesitantly, forcing them to eke out a living in other professions. At least one of their number, John Hampton, of Snow Hill, was paid in tobacco. Between factions within the congregations and between the minister and these factions, theological questions were raised which caused the Presbytery to be "...heartily sorry for the misunderstanding

..." that beset the struggling churches.[8]

The work which the Presbytery of Philadelphia had begun grew very slowly. In 1710 Reverend John Henry wrote to Dublin in the name of the Presbytery asking for help. "In all Virginia," Reverend Henry declared, "there is but one small congregation at Elizabeth River, and some few families favouring our way in Rappahsnock and York. In Maryland only four, in Pennsylvania five, and in the Jerseys two, which bounds with some places of New York, makes up all the bounds we have any members from, and at present some of these be vacant."[9] There were but twenty-four churches in all of the colonies and the orthodoxy of some of them was not certain on all points.[10] Individual ministers as well as the Presbytery of Philadelphia considered their work to be missionary in nature. Letters to Glasgow, Dublin, and London Presbyteries were "written and approven" thanking them for aid already received, and seeking "itinerants," and "settled" preachers.[11]

After 1689 the influence of the Act of Toleration spread throughout England. About the same time the heavy hand of Episcopal authority was withdrawn, but the pressure of the Established Church was continued by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Presbyterians in Scotland, the northern part of Ireland, and England were lacking in coördination. Moreover, Episcopacy had spread to every English colony in America by 1691 while Presbyterianism, as distinct from Congregationalism, had not become established until 1698 and not organized until 1705. These conditions gave the Presbyterians advantages and disadvantages, but making the most of their opportunities they pursued their missionary activities with zeal.

As a result of their endeavor the Presbytery of Philadelphia on Friday, September 21, 1716, could record: "It having pleased Divine Providence so to increase our number, as that, after much deliberation, we judge it may be more serviceable to the interest of religion, to divide ourselves into subordinate meetings or Presbyteries, constituting one annual Synod, to meet at Philadelphia or elsewhere." Accordingly there were erected the Presbyteries of Philadelphia, New Castle, and Snow Hill. It was also urged that a fourth Presbytery of Long Island be organized by inviting Puritan churches to join with them.[12] The Synod now, as reported to London, comprised "twenty-three ordained ministers and three probationers, who all have agreed to unite their endeavors... in the provinces of New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania,

and the territories, Maryland and Virginia."[13]

The Synod of Philadelphia grew. To escape the test act of 1713 ministers and probationers from Scotland, England, and Ireland came to America to add their efforts to the growing church. Unfortunately an unhappy division was destined to retard their progress between 1741 and 1758. This division was caused by the expulsion of the "New Side" or radicals who borrowed practices and theology from the Methodists.[14] The division occurred over practices rather than theology. Although those excluded were scathingly attacked, no sooner had the separation occurred than it was regretted. Those expelled set up their own Synod of New York in 1745 with the consent of the Synod of Philadelphia.[15] From that date until the final "Plan of Union" united them as the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, they corresponded and held conferences attempting to heal the breach.[16]

Despite factious bickerings, the years between 1717 and 1758 were momentous ones for the Presbyterian church in America. The number of ministers increased from twenty-three (with three probationers) to ninety-four.[17] Some churches were served only by "supplies." Schools were begun to insure that Presbyterian ministers had "experimental acquaintance" with religion as well as "skill in divinity and cases of conscience." Thus William Tennent in 1727 established the Log College at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania and became the "Father of Presbyterian Colleges in America."[18] From this uncertain beginning Princeton University evolved.

After the death of William Tennent, Jonathan Dickinson reorganized Log College and in 1747 moved it to Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania. The following year the school was located at Newark, New Jersey, and Aaron Burr was appointed to the presidency. Finally in 1752 it was transferred to Princeton, New Jersey, where it was to remain. This school, while known as the College of New Jersey, received financial aid from the Synod of New York as well as liberal gifts from England, Scotland, and Ireland.[19] It is said that "this little fund was the beginning of that vast system of scholarships" which has spread to all types of religious and secular schools in America.

In addition to Princeton such schools as New London Academy, Divinity College in Philadelphia, later known as College of Philadelphia, and Hanover College were established by the Presbyterians during this early period.[20]

Several other important endowments were established. Thus, a fund for "pious uses" for general religious work was begun. Money was drawn from this sum to pay the expenses of emissaries to Lieutenant Governor Gooch of Virginia. Another account for "propagating the gospel among the heathen" was instituted. Finally an insurance plan was set up for "ministers' widows"; under a constitution and charter according to the laws of England in the colony of New Jersey.[21] From these humble beginnings the Presbyterian church developed its broad missionary financial program and its present plan of retirement pensions for ministers.

Missionaries were sent into the "Back parts of Virginia" and into North Carolina to care for the Scotch-Irish families who had migrated to those regions, as well as to the Indians in Virginia.[22]

A further accomplishment during this period was the adoption and reaffirmation of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms as the rule of faith and guide for religious worship.[23] In the fundamental principles of church theology and polity Presbyterians in America had followed the patterns established in Geneva, France, and Scotland. It is argued by Charles Hodge that the Presbyterian church is distinctive and separate from the Congregational and Puritan churches in adhering to the Westminster Confession and in adopting the Scottish and Huguenot church polity.

By the year 1758 the fundamental principles and policies of the Presbyterian church in America were complete. In the congregation were the elders and deacons. Over groups of individual churches were the Presbyteries. Superior to them was the Synod. The only portion of this organization still lacking was the General Assembly. Moreover, educational institutions, missionary endeavors, as well as religious funds for the widows and orphans of ministers, had become established. It was an organization ready to advance.

In 1758 the Presbyterian organization consisted of ninety-four ministers, nine Presbyteries, and two synods.[2] Even though this represented a tremendous increase over the small beginnings of 1706 the Presbyterian church was still a weak organization. But with the growth of population, especially through emigrations from France, Scotland, and northern Ireland, the church was to grow - Presbyterians followed the trails across the Alleghenies, down the fingering tributaries of the Ohio, Cumberland,

and Tennessee to the Mississippi Valley.[25]

2.

Growth and Division

During the period from 1758 to 1845 four important developments profoundly affected the effectiveness and influence of the Presbyterian church. In the first place as colonial dissatisfaction mounted against British control, the Presbyterians on the frontier took a definite stand for political separation. Their attitude was influenced by the independent spirit of the Scotch-Irish.[26] A long felt fear that England would send Episcopal Bishops to regulate colonial religious affairs had more weight than political considerations in determining the course of the Presbyterian church in the American Revolution. However, the pastors of the whole church who assembled as a synod in 1775 were reluctant to offer any overtures which would widen the breach between England and America. But the Synod of Philadelphia and New York ordered a day of "solemn fasting, humiliation and prayer" because of the alarming state of public affairs and all pastors were urged that "every opportunity be taken to express your attachment and respect to our sovereign King George." With equal piety they were urged to "be careful to maintain the union which at present subsists through all the colonies," to support the Continental Congress and to "adhere firmly to their resolutions: and let it be seen that they are able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry them into execution."[27]

The Presbyterian church watched the political movements with intense interest. Dr. John Witherspoon, a forceful pastor of the church, was a member of the Continental Congress of 1776.[28] Some of the pastors became chaplains in the Revolutionary army, some staunch Presbyterian elders became majors, colonels, and captains, and many laymen served in the ranks.[29] Churches were without pastors, congregations disorganized for want of elders and deacons, presbyterial and synodical gatherings were "rump" meetings, the Presbyterian church had become militant for the cause of liberty. This same militancy was to be evidenced in the frontier activity at a later period when a different foe was to be met!

In the second place, the Treaty of 1783 recognized the United States as an independent nation. The critical period was weathered. The Constitution of the United States was adopted and put into operation. During this

time Presbyterianism grew in strength along with the new nation. It was in 1786 that the pastors gathered together in their annual synodical meeting at Philadelphia agreed to dissolve the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, to reorganize the church into four synods, and to establish a new organization which was to be under the "title of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America."[30] In the synodical meeting at the same place in 1788 a "draught of the form of government and discipline" was adopted[31] and the following year the first General Assembly met at Philadelphia.[32] The Calvinian system was now realized in America as it had been previously realized in Fran Scotland, England, and Ireland.

A third development which is a logical corollary to forming the General Assembly was that of incorporation. It was proposed on May 26, 1795, that this step be taken "under the existing laws of Pennsylvania," and a committee was appointed to act upon the proposal. It was not until March 28, 1799, that the actual incorporation was accomplished. This act has historical significance because it created a group of trustees responsible to ecclesiastical and to civil authorities for the purpose of holding and managing the physical properties and funds of the church.[33] This same pattern has been followed by the presbyteries, synods, and the individual churches throughout the United States.

In 1837, a second serious division of the Presbyterian church over government and doctrine occurred. The basis for this schism may be traced back to the appointment of Jonathan Edwards and two other ministers in 1800 as delegates to the General Association of Congregational churches of Connecticut.[34] The following year a communication, prompted by Edwards' visit, from the Connecticut Association suggested a union of the two church groups for the purpose of prosecuting missionary activities on the frontier.[35] Before the General Assembly brought its work to a close for that session a Plan, based on broad and ingenious co-operation between the two churches, appeared to be successful. Missionary zeal swept westward with the advance of the pioneers. In 1826 through inter-denominational activity the American Home Missionary Society was established and heroic work proceeded in carrying Christianity to the frontier posts, setting up mission churches, founding Sunday Schools, and organizing Temperance Societies.

But by 1830 the liberal Congregational influence of New England began to worry the more conservative Scotch

and Scotch-Irish. More and more the debates, committees, and commissions were being dominated by the liberals. The danger became very real, in the eyes of the conservatives, when in the General Assembly of 1835 the liberals had a clear voting majority in the convention. This was repeated in 1836. But before the meeting of 1837 the conservatists, now identified as the "Old School," met in convention or caucus and determined to force the issue by seizing control of the Assembly and expelling the liberals.

On the second day of the session of May 20, 1837, the Old School faction introduced "Overture No. 1, viz. 'Testimony and Memorial of the Convention,' in relation to errors and irregularities in the Presbyterian Church." It was, however, not until three days later, by a vote of 129 to 123 that the issue was forced upon the floor of the convention that "the Act of the Assembly of 1801, entitled a 'Plan of Union' be, and the same is hereby abrogated."[36] The motion was carried 143 to 110. Before the session of 1837 was over the Old School had succeeded in voting out of the General Assembly the synods of Western Reserve, Utica, Geneva, and Genesee. Moreover the Presbyterian Church withdrew from the support of the American Home Missionary Society, and the American Education Society, and the Board of Foreign Missions. All individual churches which refused to subscribe to the new doctrinal interpretations were denied representation in the local Presbyteries, regional Synods, and the General Assembly.[37]

The following year representatives from the expelled synods presented their credentials but were refused admission.[38] Whereupon the New School formed their own General Assembly and remained a separate body until 1869.

But the division was not yet over for the New School opposed slavery while the Old School, having many of its churches in the Southern states, was sympathetic toward slave-owners. Two groups not satisfied with the position of either school separated. The Cumberland Presbyterian church became representative of the border states' attitude toward slavery,[39] while the United Synod of the Presbyterian church (United Presbyterian church) represented a favorable attitude toward slavery.[40] But the North-South division in the church as a whole did not take place until after the outbreak of the Civil War. Thus, in 1857 the Presbyterian church was divided into four parts: two dominant - the Old and New Schools; and two minor - the Cumberland Presbyterian

Church and the United Presbyterian church. These divisions are significant but it was from the "Old School" that most of the missionaries and pastors came to preach and to lead the German Presbyterians on the frontier.

Chapter 3

GERMAN EMIGRATION TO THE FRONTIER: 1833-1875

1.

The Frontier

There was an attractiveness about the American frontier which drew to it men and women of all classes of society from the Atlantic seaboard and many foreign countries. Without a doubt some left careers and conditions in an older society to embrace what they hoped would be new and better circumstances under which to work out their destiny. Others fled to the new country from stigmas of their own or another's creation. There were those who sought adventure pure and simple. From Europe they came, as in the colonial days, to escape what they considered to be intolerable economic, social, religious, and political conditions. Whatever the cause of their coming, one thing is almost universally true - all were individualists. Missionary or farmer, storekeeper or singing master, each had in him an impulse which rebelled against ordered society and drove him to the raw frontier where life ran in no mold. There his struggle from day to day brought the reward of success, or the ashes of defeat. Hardship they knew awaited them. Tales of blinding snow storms, bleaching bones bearing marks of the wolf's fangs, and scalps on the end of long sticks that kept time to the syncopated rhythm of the victory dance were told in solemn tones. Land was plentiful, but the thick sod would yield to no ordinary plow. With broad "breaking" ploughs pulled by two or three yoke of oxen and guided by strong men smeared with sweat and grime, the tough prairie sod was literally torn up and laid over foot by foot. But with all the heartbreaking labor, the bitter loneliness, and the stinging disappointments, the pioneers learned to love the rolling prairie which stretched off toward the far horizon like an ocean's frozen turbulence. Some immigrants came to definite locations which had been predetermined before they started on their journey.

Such was the case of the Germans in Westphalia Township of Shelby County, Iowa, who settled there under

the leadership of Emil Andrew Flusche.[1] Or again, the German immigrants who followed Paul Follenius and Friederich Münch to Missouri, or those who came to the same region after reading Gottfried Duden's "description of his journey to America."[2] Joseph Eiboech has explained that the German "emigrants settled in family groups coming from one and the same region for the simple reason that to them everything was strange and they wished to have fellow countrymen as their neighbors."[3] Many Germans came to America with no definite destination in mind. A good example is the Luzius Conzett family who got the "American fever" and migrated in 1846 to Galena, Illinois, by way of New Orleans and St. Louis. The Conzetts contemplated going to Prairie du Sac, Wisconsin; then to Nauvoo, Illinois, where a Mormon house was purchased, but almost immediately resold. Then they "bought a claim" in Jackson County, Iowa, but the wolves "gave such a concert through the whole night" that after six days they "left everything" and returned to Galena. Early in 1847 they crossed the Mississippi River on the ice and settled in Dubuque where they remained.[4]

2.

The Lure of the Mississippi Valley

It was not mere chance that caused so many Germans to migrate to the Upper Mississippi Valley. In the first place, it was to the cheap virgin land of the frontier that the Germans pushed between 1820 and 1860. In the second place, the region was well advertised. In 1832 H. S. Tanner, in a review of Rev. Robert Baird's Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide, exclaims, "No one can cast his eye over the map of this continent, without being struck with the almost unexampled advantages...possessed by the great Valley of the Mississippi." Rev. Robert Baird's Guide was "written in a Christian spirit" in the hope of attracting the "European, especially, of the middle or lower ranks." In contemplating the West the politician estimated with "keen sighted sagacity," the probabilities of the "balance of power being cast ere long, west of the Allegheny" and the philanthropist looked westward, too, as a theatre for the "execution of his benevolent plans and purposes."[5] Europeans were attracted to America and the Northwest by such other guides and handbooks as John B. Newhall's A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846, J. H. Colton's Emigrants' Hand Book, Iowa as it is in 1847: A Gazetteer for Citizens and a Handbook for Immigrants, by Nathan H. Parker, and Theodore Oldhausen's Der Staat Iowa Geographisch und Statistisch.

In addition to guide books, many German settlers wrote glowing letters to their friends and relatives in Germany. Pastor Peter Flury, Rev. Johann Georg Joseph Anton Rieger, Gottfried Duden, Dr. F. A. Rauch, and Henry P. Scholte were prolific letter writers. No doubt their letters, and those of many other correspondents, were handed from friend to friend until many Europeans got the "American fever." Some of these writers went a little far. "Wild turkeys are found in flocks of five hundred," wrote one enthusiast. "As for game, the bison put their heads through the windows to be shot." The wolves were reported to be small and easily tamed while the bears were small and herded with the swine.[6]

Dr. F. A. Rauch, Principal of the Classical School of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, described the "motives which induce Germans to emigrate to this country," in a series of letters written to the Secretary of the Home Missionary Society. He emphasized the revolution of 1830 and the growing knowledge of the "beautiful" Mississippi. He dwelt on the "delightful prairies, fertilizing rivers, rich soil and primeval woods" of the West. Some German immigrants, Dr. Rauch points out, follow one another "as birds are carried along in flocks." Germany, he explained, was "overflowing with inhabitants" forced to subsist on soil inadequately fertile. Commerce was "paralyzed" by duties. The professions were filled while industrious Germans found it impossible to secure employment. "In short," Rauch concludes, "all that want a field for action or desire wealth, feel themselves attracted to America."[7]

Rauch was not unbiased. He was thoroughly German, enamored with the greatness and goodness of German culture and pictured his brothers from the Fatherland as true products of that noble environment. Not all German observers were so idealistic, but withal he made some observations worth noting. The disposition of the German is serious. It takes him a long time to make up his mind, but having determined on a course of action he is "persevering, faces all difficulties, and fears neither labor nor bodily sufferings to accomplish his purpose." Moreover, the German adheres to old customs which exercise almost an "inviolable sway over him" following patterns of thought and action handed down from generation to generation even though they may make him appear "ridiculous." The German sometimes was "fond of drinking beer and wine" to excess in large assemblies or at "frolics." Notwithstanding, and seemingly in no manner contradictory nor incompatible, the German was deeply religious. But in America, having lost contact

with many of his old customs, he had permitted himself to "sink into a state of lethargy" towards religious matters from which it was difficult to arouse him.[8]

Then, too, some of the Mississippi Valley states took official action to attract emigrants to fill up their vacant lands. By 1870, Marcus Lee Hansen points out Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Minnesota, and Wisconsin were distributing hand books describing the advantages of their respective states. Competition among the states influenced Iowa to set up two different agencies to direct the stream of emigrants to her unoccupied prairies. This was paradoxical in the light of the Iowa law which required a five year residence of aliens before they could vote and the prohibition law of 1856 and 1857, both of which repelled the Germans.[9] The first Commissioner of Emigration was established by law in 1860 and provided for sending an immigration agent to New York City.[10] A Board of Immigration was created by the General Assembly in 1870. A handbook, Iowa, the Home for Immigrants, prepared by A. R. Fulton was printed in English, German, Danish, and Swedish.[11] No doubt these efforts affected the distribution of Germans in the Upper Mississippi Valley but they cannot be accredited with augmenting directly the numbers entering America.

3.

Early Reports of German Emigrants

Before census statistics were available showing the number of Germans among the population of the Upper Mississippi Valley states there was evidence that they were moving westward in relatively large numbers. Faust asserts that the first German immigrants to America arrived in Philadelphia on October 6, 1683. This date has been celebrated by all Germans in America since as the beginning of their history in the United States.[12] Such a celebration was held in Dubuque, Iowa, on October 16, 1902. The occasion was to reenact the German street festival or Kirmes, to commemorate the German heroes of American wars as well as those who had contributed to the cultural advance of the United States, and to celebrate the landing of the first Germans on the soil of this country. A platoon of policemen, the Mayor and Council, American fraternal orders, military bands, and German organizations took part in the parade. The German Benevolent Society, the Germania Lodge No. 287 of American Order of United Workmen, the Schiller Lodge of Odd Fellows, the German Veteran Society, the Luxemburg

Benevolent Society, the American Swiss Club, the Swiss Maenerchor, the Germania Society, the Dubuque Social Turnverein, the Germania Maenerchor, the Dubuque Saengerbund, and delegations of outside German societies marched before the reviewing stand. Each organization had a float representing a "very pretty sentiment and was attractive in design and embellishment."

The procession followed a route of Dubuque's principal streets then proceeded to the "Shooting Park" where a program was given under the direction of Senator A. F. Frudden, a German emigrant who was the generating spirit of the whole celebration. The military bands and the singing societies provided German and English music followed by an address by Rev. G. D. Helden who stressed the sterling qualities of the German element in America which had contributed to the growth and development of the United States.[13]

A Presbyterian missionary stationed in Illinois wrote to the Home Missionary Society in the summer of 1833, that "a hundred or two German families" had come from Europe to St. Claire County "within two years" and that "many more" were expected. He prophesied that the country would soon become predominantly German.[14]

In 1834 Niles' Register reported that many recent German emigrants settled on the rich bottom land in the "forks of the Missouri and Mississippi." In addition many old settlers were moving towards the "far West."[15] Duden and Follenius hoped to establish a "model state" where the Missouri flowed into the Mississippi.[16] Projects of this sort in German emigration were not uncommon. Rauch cites a plan to transfer a "society" or German culture colony to America. A number of families bound together by that "great idea" came to America in two vessels in 1834. But the plan failed and the "society" was dissolved before landing. Although destined for Arkansas, the society enriched "principally Missouri."[17]

In July of 1834 the Home Missionary editor remarked that large numbers of German emigrants had poured into the western country by way of the Erie Canal since 1829. The greater part of them had attempted to form German communities where they might preserve "the language and customs of their native land."[18]

Six years later, in 1840, Nile's Register chronicled the arrival of 16,000 German emigrants in New York City. Most of these emigrants had gone on to the West.[19]

Reports of this nature indicated that a steady stream of Germans from all parts of the Fatherland were arriving in America. A large portion of them moved inland toward the Upper Mississippi Valley.

Many Lutherans were found among the Germans located on Tetes des Morts Creek by Rev. William Salter, when he arrived in Jackson County, Iowa, in 1842.[20] From Dubuque, Rev. John C. Holbrook wrote to the American Home Missionary Society in 1847, that a large German population was gathering at Prairie la Porte (Guttenberg) in Clayton County, and he further reported that there were two hundred families of Germans at Sherril's Mound. His estimate was undoubtedly an exaggeration. Holbrook also found numerous Germans at and on farms around the towns of Platteville and Potosi, Wisconsin, and Galena, Illinois.[21] That same year Rev. Ephriam Adams wrote from Davenport that the Germans were becoming "so numerous in this part of Iowa, that it is a serious question with us."[22]

A Mr. C. Oakley, copied the Home Missionary in 1842 from the St. Louis Republican, has returned from Europe where he had succeeded in organizing a company for the purpose of sending emigrants to the West. Land offices were to be opened in London and "some principal town in Germany." The editor of the Home Missionary feared that, contrary to the intention of Oakley and his company, many of the emigrants would be undesirables, and he was apprehensive of the stimulation of immigration by "special motives" because the number of Germans coming to America "is likely to be greater than ever before."[23]

About five families of Germans settled at Guttenberg, in 1842, which was still known as Prairie la Porte, and received a slow increase of about five people a year. In 1844 the Western Settlement Society of Cincinnati sent an agent to Guttenberg to purchase about two thousand acres of land. After the political upheaval of 1848, the young German "reactionaries" left the Fatherland, arriving at Guttenberg in 1849. These Germans, numbering about half a hundred "sailed down the Ohio to St. Louis" and came to Guttenberg by boat. They were a curious mixture of "high and low German, educated and others farmers and laborers." The rich bought the land - and the farmers cultivated it for them which was "an inkling of the old feudal system they were used to."[24]

4.

Madoulet's Tour

In the year 1851 Jean Baptiste Madoulet, a German Missionary at Dubuque, Iowa, was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society to make a "general visit" to the German population of Iowa to study their "moral and spiritual condition." From October of that year until April of the following year Madoulet traveled in his "little wagon" over the Eastern counties of Iowa from Lansing in the north to Keokuk in the south. Everywhere he went he saw "Families germans" whose spiritual condition was "faire" or at a "low Ebbe." Incidentally he found one "Frensh" settlement (Centralia) and several "Irris" settlements.

Traveling northward Madoulet found fifty families at Guttenberg, and the same number at Garnavillo. Smaller settlements were reported at Farmersburg, "Stroeberts (Shoeberts?) Settlement,"[25] Wagner Settlement (Wagner),[26] and Fort Atkinson. In Allamakee County many German families were "skatter over the prairie." Returning south toward Dubuque Madoulet discovered Germans at Elkader, Colesburg, and Dyersville. From Dubuque the tireless Madoulet went to Cascade. Only three families of Germans were located there but "2½ miles" north of Cascade (probably Hempsted), there was a large "Settlement germans."[27] In Anamosa and its environs there were more than fifty families in small groups, for the most part on farms, or in such places as Big Woods, Jones County.[28] Madoulet found three families at Marion, in Linn County, who "speak better English than German." Between Marion and Cedar Rapids in an unnamed place (probably Bower)[29] were sixteen families from Saxony and Bavaria, while others were scattered over the prairies. From this point Madoulet crossed the Cedar River and found fourteen miles west of Cedar Rapids on "Prence Creek," (probably Morgan Creek)[30] eight miles from Marengo "settelinng a colonie" of Germans from Westphalia or Prussia who called their "residing place Gaspir [Jasper] Colonie[.][31] They are adherents of...Shwedenborg - and call themselves the new Jerusalem." In Johnson County, Madoulet reported, eighty "families of Germans at Iowa City, seventy at Northband" (North Liberty), thirty-three at two unnamed places (most likely Solon and Shueyville, in Johnson County), and twelve families north of Iowa City at "big Grove" in Big Grove Township.[32] Only one colony was reported, "Lappshure's Settlement," in Cedar County.[33]

Traveling southwest through Muscatine County, Madoulet visited a few Germans in West Liberty. In Muscatine and its environs one hundred and fifty families were located while many individual families were scattered over the prairies.

Madoulet now anxiously turned north toward Dubuque where he had left his family. Our explorer was impressed with Davenport and its German population of more than two hundred families. At Clinton, Clinton County, he was welcomed by a few Germans. From there he hastened home through the bitter cold of the last day of January, 1851.

After spending two weeks at home he again loaded his little wagon with his scanty belongings and headed south on another "tripp." In Louisa County at Grand View, where Gabriel Walling, a German, was postmaster,[34] and at Wapello were respectively eleven and fifteen German families. It was reported to him that there were eighteen hundred Germans at Burlington in Des Moines County in addition to some "Hollands" and about twelve families of Germans "come in America from Russia." He lingered at Burlington a number of days before crossing into Lee County. At Fort Madison he estimated there were three hundred and fifty Germans and at Keokuk forty families. In the country surrounding Keokuk was farm after farm on the prairies occupied by Germans. In the north-western part of the county he found a colony of ninety German families at Franklyn (Franklin Center, now Franklin).[35] Across the line in Van Buren County, at Farmington were eighteen families while at an unnamed place (probably Bonepart),[36] fourteen more families had made their home. Walnut Creek (Walnut)[37] and Dutch Creek (Germanville)[38] in Jefferson County had thirty and eighteen German families respectively. Traveling eastward across Henry County he found a few German families. Having reached Burlington in early March he again returned home.

A distinguishing feature of these early Iowa settlements was the great variety of religions. Madoulet discovered on his tours Germans of all beliefs as well as many who professed no religion. Among those mentioned are indifferentists, radicalists, rationalists or "Freemans," "new" Mennonites, Roman Catholics, "united brethern in Christ," "Albrechslents," Methodists, those who followed "Shwedenborg" and "call themselves the new Jerusalem," the followers of "Revd. I. Weinbrenner" who are known as the Church of God, Lutherans, Evangelical Lutherans, and those who professed a branch of rationalism called "Christ-Platonism." It made little difference

to the Missionary what religion was followed; it was unacceptable to him if it were not thoroughly evangelical; Congregational or Presbyterian (N.S.) preferred. He even had his doubts about the Old School Presbyterians having a clear road to heaven!

The German practice which drove the missionary to a froth of righteous indignation was the "schandalous conduct" of visiting the "grogg shop" and "dansing." Madoulet's anger knew no bounds when he discovered at Muscatine a "nice meetinghouse" which German "Freemans" intended to use for worship in the morning and "ball and dansing" in the evening.[39]

The missionary exploration of Rev. Madoulet has been dealt with at length because it is the first consistent report we have of the German population in Iowa and because it was in this state that the first German Presbyterian churches were founded. Dubuque was to become in 1854 the hub from which was to radiate the Presbyterian missionary efforts among the Germans. Madoulet was a well educated man. He could speak French, Dutch, and German with ease and preached in any one of them as occasion demanded. Although his English was halting and often humorously put together he could express himself with vigor and clarity. His observations of the number of Germans in various eastern Iowa counties is without doubt in some cases based on estimates. On the other hand he faithfully visited in his "little wagon" a majority of the families in the smaller communities reporting his findings in detail.

5.

Facts and Figures

Although the Federal Census Reports give the total German population of the Upper Mississippi Valley states beginning with 1850 there are no statistics for individual counties until 1870. In 1856 the Census Board of Iowa gave a detailed county by county report of the total as well as the German population in each. At that time Dubuque and Scott counties had more than four thousand each. Lee County had between three and four thousand while Clayton, Muscatine, and Des Moines counties counted two to three thousand Germans in each county. One county had from one to two thousand while twelve counties had from five hundred to a thousand Germans. The total German population for the state was at that date 31,952.[40]

By 1870, when county statistics are once more available, Germans are found in every part of Iowa except Osceola County, which is not reported. At that date, Scott County had over six thousand Germans; five other counties had from three to six thousand; ten between one and three thousand; fourteen had more than five hundred but less than one thousand; thirty-three had between one and five hundred; while thirty-five counties had under one hundred Germans in each county.[41]

German emigration reached its peak in 1895. The census of that year showed the following distribution:[42]

Number of counties having				over	6000	Germans 2
"	"	"	"	3000	to 6000	" 6
"	"	"	"	1000	to 3000	" 37
"	"	"	"	500	to 1000	" 23
"	"	"	"	100	to 500	" 27
"	"	"	"	under	100	" 4
					Total	99

The total German population of the five Upper Mississippi Valley states for the decades 1850 to 1900 inclusive is as follows:[43]

State	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Illinois	38,463	130,804	189,055	235,786	338,382	332,169
Iowa	7,253	38,555	60,182	88,268	127,246	123,162
Minnesota		18,400	37,694	66,596	116,955	117,007
Missouri	45,120	88,487	106,397	106,800	125,461	109,282
Wisconsin	38,125	123,879	154,355	184,328	259,819	242,777

The preponderance of German migration to the Upper Mississippi Valley states as compared to that of five other racial groups during the same decades shows the special problem of assimilation which their mere numbers created.

Foreign Elements Other than German in Upper Mississippi Valley States[44]

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
English						
Illinois	18,628	41,745	53,871	56,318	70,473	64,390
Iowa	3,785	11,522	16,660	22,519	26,205	21,027
Minnesota	84(T)	3,462	5,670	8,495	14,730	12,022
Missouri	5,379	10,009	14,314	15,798	18,648	15,666
Wisconsin	18,952	30,543	28,192	24,916	23,628	17,955
Irish						
Illinois	27,786	87,573	120,162	117,343	124,498	114,563
Iowa	4,885	28,072	40,124	44,061	37,353	28,321
Minnesota	271(T)	12,831	21,746	25,942	28,011	22,428
Missouri	14,734	43,364	54,943	48,898	40,966	31,832
Wisconsin	21,043	49,961	48,479	41,907	33,306	23,544
Dutch						
Illinois	220	2,615	4,180	5,012	8,087	21,916
Iowa	1,108	1,416	4,513	4,743	7,941	9,388
Minnesota	16(T)	391	1,855	1,581	1,796	2,717
Missouri	189	769	1,167	1,122	740	812
Wisconsin	1,157	4,906	5,990	5,698	6,252	6,498
Scandinavian: Norway, Sweden, Denmark						
Illinois	3,631	12,073	45,570	65,414	128,897	144,812
Iowa	611	7,814	31,179	46,046	82,873	72,611
Minnesota	12(T)	11,773	58,837	107,768	205,215	236,670
Missouri	248	849	2,792	4,517	7,461	7,732
Wisconsin	8,885	23,265	48,057	66,284	99,738	103,942
Scotch						
Illinois	4,661	10,540	15,737	15,645	20,465	20,021
Iowa	712	2,895	5,248	6,885	7,701	6,425
Minnesota	84(T)	1,079	2,194	2,964	5,315	4,810
Missouri	1,049	2,021	3,283	3,641	4,601	3,878
Wisconsin	3,527	6,902	6,590	5,770	5,494	4,569

The metropolitan center of Chicago accounts in part for the large German population in Illinois. Moreover, Illinois had the advantage of being open for settlement long before the other four states. Minnesota was too cold to attract the Germans in large numbers and the Scandinavians rapidly appropriated the best land. The Germans almost to a man were opposed to slavery although many were more attracted by the rich Missouri lands than were repelled by slavery. Much of Wisconsin land was unattractive and it was only of comparatively recent date that the dairy industry made large acreages unsuitable for tillage available for pasturage. There were three obstacles to what appeared to be, in the late forties and fifties, the promise of a large German emigration to Iowa. The first was the five year alien residence requirement for the privilege of voting, the second was the prohibition laws of Iowa, and finally, Iowa of the five states made the least consistent efforts to attract Germans into her state.

Today we find it difficult to understand the German migration to the Middlewest. For the missionary who was appalled at the constant stream of German emigrants it was more difficult. Whether they liked the Germans or not was beside the question; they were human beings with souls to be saved! To some the challenge to Christianity was not alone in numbers but more so in the fear that German "indifferentism," scepticism, and even atheism would come to dominate the religious attitude on the frontier.

At best, the frontier missionary was in a difficult position. More often than not he was impelled to the frontier by a sense of duty rather than by a love for adventure. His new environment was strange and his adjustment slow and painful. At times he was thoroughly discouraged and became desperately lonely for association with his own kind. Had it not been for his pride and his ability to sublimate defeat and homesickness into his religious philosophy he would have given up in despair. For example, an Iowa missionary in 1839 listed his liabilities: "I am an eastern man, and am called an educated man, and a Presbyterian." An old gentleman when pressed for an opinion of the young preacher's ability declared "he is a college larnt chap, and they generally talk so you cannot understand them."[45] Added to his confusion was this army of foreigners who spoke a strange language, had customs with which he was unacquainted, gathered into closed communities, and indulged in habits with which he thoroughly and piously disagreed. It is no wonder that with almost unanimity they appealed

to the Missionary Society for guidance. But the Society only re-echoed the question, "What shall be done for the Germans?"

Chapter 4

A CONGREGATIONAL GERMAN MISSIONARY COMES TO IOWA

1.

The Challenge of the German Migration

Although the American Home Missionary Society was concerned about the religious state of the Germans of the Upper Mississippi Valley frontier it did not prosecute evangelization of them with the same vigor which it did Congregationalism or Presbyterianism among the Americans. One reason is that in 1835 the Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society and the Board of Missions of the Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United States adopted "terms of co-operation" whereby these two groups were to combine their efforts in sending missionaries to the German populations in the United States. As the German emigration moved westward the Reformed missionaries followed them. In 1840 a number of these missionaries formed the Deutscher Evanglischer Kirchenverein des Westens.[1] The German Evangelical Synod concentrated its work in Missouri, Southern Illinois, and Southern Iowa (in the area under discussion) and there it was effective. It was only natural that the Society did not want to encroach upon the field occupied by its missionary colleague.

Then, too, German immigration was becoming in the East, where the missionary funds were contributed, a question of concern. German missionaries had to be sent to New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio to meet the challenge of a larger German population than the Upper Mississippi Valley had then or would have for some time to come. Moreover, by 1845, when the demand for German missionaries in northern Iowa, northern Illinois, and southern Wisconsin became insistent the American Home Missionary Society was supporting large numbers of missionaries in the Middle West. Although her treasury had always been ample she was beginning to feel the strain of her wide flung projects. At the same time Iowa was opening its inviting prairies creating still greater demands for more missionaries and more money to support them.

Whatever the German demand the first responsibility was to the Americans - especially from New England.

2.

Plea for German Missionaries

In 1841 Asa Turner and Reuben Gaylord appealed in a joint letter to the Home Missionary Society for more laborers. "The farmer, the mechanic, the lawyer and the physician," they wrote, "vie with each other for the occupancy of the west; but there is one class of men that are seldom seen among the army of pioneers - alas, that it is so! - we mean the ministers of Christ."[2]

While on a missionary tour in Jackson County, Iowa, Rev. William Salter reported to the Society "we have here a settlement of Germans, many of whom are Lutherans, in whose houses I found the German Bible translated by Martin Luther." He left them some religious tracts in English regretting that he had none in their "native tongue."[3] William Salter was a member of the Andover or Iowa Band of eleven young ministers, trained at Andover Academy, who came to Iowa in 1843 in answer to the earnest pleas of Asa Turner for aid in Christianizing the Iowa frontier. They were commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society of the National Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches of the United States. The work of these men constitutes one of the great religious and cultural influences in Iowa and the Upper Mississippi Valley.[4]

From his missionary post in Dubuque, John C. Holbrook advised the secretary of the Society that there had been an arrival of a "large number of German families" from Hanover and about "nine hundred more" are on the way. Cannot "a missionary be provided for them," he pleaded? He suggested that a combination missionary and colporter could do much good by having "service on the Sabbath" and in a "circuit of 15 miles" he could reach a population of many hundreds.[5]

Ephriam Adams wanted to know if he would have to learn the German language to minister to the large number of Germans in and about Davenport. And he earnestly advised the society to urge every young man who was coming West as a missionary to acquaint himself with the German language.[6]

Adams expressed serious concern about the Germans in three letters during 1848. "Hundreds are coming in

the spring" he wrote in February, "and I long to see among them here an Evangelical German preacher." The following May he informed the Society: "The Germans are becoming so numerous in this part of Iowa, that it is a serious question with us, what can be done for their spiritual benefit? Have you no shepherd to send them?" And in August he described a scene of young German parents bringing their child to him to be baptized. They could speak no English and he no German but by pantomime they made their wants known and he satisfied their desires. Then he laid before the Society the heart of the German problem. If a German missionary could be sent, Adams thought, what a "want in the hearts of these few Christians" would be filled. "I say few," he explained, "for the majority of Germans are not pious. Still they need the influence of a pious minister....Their zeal is already beginning to flag. As the German mind here swings away from forms, to what will it tend? To what here, as elsewhere, but infidelity, without the influence of truth in its living form, brought in contact with the mind in its transition state?"[7]

3.

Pastor Peter Flury

Such arguments were potent but perhaps they did not have as much weight as the fear of the Roman Catholic influence among the Germans. It is not without significance that the first Congregational German missionary west of the Mississippi was stationed at Dubuque, the seat of the Archdiocese of Dubuque under Bishop Loras. But whatever the cause, on October 13, 1846, Pastor Peter Flury was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society to work among the Germans at Dubuque and its vicinity.[8] Flury's commission was to lead directly to the German Presbyterian Church in Iowa and eventually throughout the Upper Mississippi Valley.

Pastor Peter Flury came to the United States in 1846, to enter upon missionary work among the Indians. He was imbued with considerable idealism not unmixed with romanticism, but when he saw the religious condition of the Germans he decided to devote his life to their service. Flury was born in Saas, Canton Graubünden (Grison), Switzerland, October 30, 1804.[9] In his youth, Flury had the advantage of travel in Italy and France with a period of residence in the capital of each country.[10]

Peter Flury received his education in the state schools of Switzerland which were strongly influenced

by the rationalism then dominating European academic thinking. Although he was reared in a pious Christian home it did not lead him to enter religious work. When a young man, however, Flury came under the influence of a strong religious leader, Mr. Drummond, who was partially responsible for his conversion. A Miss Sophie Jackson, from Hull, England, whom he later married, helped to direct his life into the channel of religion and the ministry.[11] Flury was six feet tall and well proportioned. He was a fine appearing young man with fair complexion, dark flashing eyes, and brown curly hair.[12]

Pastor Flury's first pastorate was at Schiers, Canton Graubünden, Switzerland, where he was especially active among the young people who "grew up wild" and who "clung to him in kind love like cockleburs." Jacob Conzett who was a boy in Schiers at that time wrote reminiscently of him in his Autobiography. "I recall, one day when he gathered all the school children in the big school house," Conzett records. "There he gave us as much coffee and cake as we could hold." On another occasion Pastor Flury treated them in the manse to "raspberry wine and cake."

While still in Schiers Flury founded a "higher educational institution - a teacher seminary." His purpose was to train Christian teachers to counteract the state schools which were in the hands of unbelieving teachers. His congregation at that time supported his efforts and provided scholarships for boys who were recommended by the church officers.[13] Flury's work at Schiers was interrupted by a division in his congregation. This occurred when he attempted to introduce the Reformed Church constitution into his congregation. Discouraged, he resigned his pastorate and immigrated to America in 1846;[14] the same year that Iowa was admitted into the Union as a state.

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4.

Commissioned a German Missionary

Pastor Peter Flury began to work among the Germans at Dubuque. In October of that year he was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society as a German missionary and colporter. For over a year he labored intensively at Dubuque and its environs. On horseback he visited Sherril's Mound, Guttenburg, Garnavillo, Galena and Platteville as well as individual families scattered in the woods and over the prairies. At each place he

inquired after the spiritual welfare of the people, but found little in their religious life to encourage him.

The ignorance of religion, the antagonism toward religious interests, and stark poverty of many Germans appalled Flury. On one of his missionary tours in Wisconsin he met a boy about twelve years old who could speak English "pretty well." After questioning the lad about German families in the neighborhood and their religious belief Flury asked him, "Do you not know the Lord Jesus Christ?"

"I never heard his name," the boy answered.

"Do you never pray?" Flury then questioned.

"No, I never learnt it," was the answer.

It was not merely the populace that Flury found to be godless, but some preachers were untrustworthy characters. He cites the case of one who preached at Galena in the morning with "great zeal and approbation" but in the afternoon "was found in a low public house, at a gaming table, drunk, wasting the money collected in the church - mocking the deceived Germans." In the same report to the Home Missionary Society, Flury continued: "My field of labor is a spiritual wilderness. Many, if not most of the emigrants, appear either to have brought with them only a dead form of Christianity or open unbelief and contempt." Those who had brought with them "some little fear of God" have lost that little "amongst ungodly neighbors."[15]

Poverty among the German emigrants was more often the rule than the exception. Flury's concern for their poor "economical situation" was almost equal to his concern for their spiritual welfare. How could they in their poverty "provide for their daily existence" and secure a home. The wavering uncertainty as to whether to "stay or wander some other place." The small number of true Christians, the distance they lived from one another, their different languages, and customs were serious problems. Moreover, a variety of professions, "church discipline, forse prejudicial errors, dead orthodoxy, [and] Sectarianism, are all difficulties standing in the way and hindering the work of a missionary among them."[16] It was more disheartening when some Germans retorted "We need neither church nor preacher."[17] Flury further pictures utter want among the Germans. He wished to spend alternate Sunday evenings with "different families in the country" so that he could become

better acquainted with them. "But I was soon obliged to give up this plan and return by night to Dubuque." He continues, "The people are so poor, and most of them new beginners, that I could not find lodgings for myself, nor shelter for my horse."[18]

Pastor Flury revealed a highly emotional nature in his letters. For that reason he might have reacted more definitely to the religious unconcern of the Germans. However, such men as Madoulet, C. V. Hess, German missionary at Garnavillo and Farmersburg, J. Bently at Platteville, Wisconsin, and Rev. Mr. Gumbell at Fort Madison, as well as missionaries of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, confirmed the rationalistic and indifferent religious attitude of the majority of the German emigrants on the frontier.

By the spring of 1847 Peter Flury was discouraged and disappointed. He informed the Society that he had hoped to send more cheering news, "But alas! I cannot even now speak of any manifest and decided fruits of my labours...my field of labour appears so barren, and unpromising, as to leave me almost helpless."

Nevertheless, his work was prospering in spite of his lamentations. He hoped during the summer of 1847 to build two churches, one at Dubuque and one at Galena. At Dubuque "400 Dollars" was raised and in Galena, a "Lot and something more than 100 Dollars." But the collection of money for church buildings made it impossible for the congregations to pay anything considerable toward his salary. Some "poor people in the country" promised to give Flury "10 Dollars" for that purpose. "I have received only 2 Dollars of it" he records, "and that in wool, because money failed. Besides the above, I have received 4 - 5 Franc pieces by a marriage and funerals. Also 3 carts of wood for the schoolroom worth 3 dollars and 1/2, 1 Dollar worth of meat and Butter and 90 Cents worth of oats for my horse. With your permission I should be glad to fix these little gifts for the Benefit of the church in Dubuque. For which we have also subscribed 30 Dollars."[19]

5.

First German Protestant Schools West of the Mississippi

Some time after Reverend Flury was commissioned as a missionary in Dubuque he established what may be called the first German school west of the Mississippi River.

To the secretary of the Society he reported: "There are no public schools here, and the Germans (most of them) so poor that they could not send their children where they had anything to pay; therefore, myself and my wife keep a free school every morning except Saturday and Sunday in our lodging. My principal subjects of instruction are, the Christian religion, English and German languages, writing and singing." Flury did not stop there. In the evenings "the grown-up people, Catholics and Protestants, received instruction also, gratis, in the English language; for which purpose I use the New Testament." There was in the adult evening school a sly bit of proselyting which Flury capitalized in the hope of winning converts to the Lord from "both professions." In all his teaching and preaching, Flury was convinced that for rapid evangelization and assimilation of the German element a knowledge of the English language was indispensable.[20]

6.

Flury Organizes a German Congregational Church

On Christmas day, 1847, Pastor Flury organized a German Evangelical Church at Dubuque with thirty-five members.[21] The following spring, on April 13, 1848, the church was incorporated under the territorial act of February 7, 1844, which permitted religious bodies to form corporate organizations. In the latter meeting, Andrew Müller, Nicholas Deaubald, and Gottlieb Wiedman were elected deacons while Peter Flury was chosen clerk.[22] Pastor Flury was careful to explain that confession of faith, covenant, discipline, and form of church government, is the same as the Congregational Church in Iowa. A few European customs dear to the Germans were retained such as observation of Christmas day, Easter, Ascension day, Whitsunday, and the Harvest feast, on which days the "Holy Sacrament is administered." He emphasizes that the practice of "Confirmation" is not an "empty ceremony" but a solemn act of "admition" thus proving that he had established a thoroughly evangelical church.[23]

It should be parenthetically explained that the German Lutheran (European) church was not Evangelical. That is, baptism, confirmation, church membership, and the Lord's Supper in the state supported church were matters of form. One accepted them as a birthright. Conversion or regeneration did not enter into their consideration. The Evangelical churches in America refused to accept this attitude. If one wished to become a member one had to show evidence of being "hopefully converted." Many

Germans were unable to grasp the distinction, but others who understood it well enough refused to accept the condition. There resulted a deep and serious friction between Evangelical ministers and "unregenerated" Germans which retarded church organization, often breaking out in open conflict as was to happen later at Dubuque.

In the constitution of the Dubuque Church it was provided that the minister, in the absence of a German evangelical synod, "should attach himself to the English synod or convention of the Congregational or of the Presbyterian Church."[24] He chose the two mentioned churches because they were the two denominations favored by the American Home Missionary Society. No doubt Flury leaned toward them, and preferred the Presbyterian faith, because Calvinism predominated in Protestant Switzerland. Moreover, within a few years the German church at Dubuque was to become Presbyterian.

7.

The German Work Expands

In addition to his work at Dubuque and among the Germans in the country, Pastor Flury found time to preach to Germans at Tetes des Morts where he had "hopes ere long to organize a little church." He was not unaware that he was encroaching upon Catholic territory. "So long," he explains, "as the Catholic Bishop of Du Buque did not know that his sheep...sought nourishment outside of his Bishops claim, a considerable number came regularly to hear the pure gospel of Jesus Christ." At Garnavillo, in the early spring of 1848, he organized the German Evangelical Church of Garnavillo, with six members who "adopted the same church constitution we have in Dubuque. They have also joined the Congregational Association" of Iowa.[25] It was to the Garnavillo Church that Flury later examined and helped to ordain a German school teacher, C. V. Hess, as pastor.[26] Both Reverend Peter Flury and Reverend C. V. Hess attended the Iowa Association of the Congregational Church in 1848, as active members of that body.[27]

In spite of apparent advances in his missionary work at Dubuque and its environs, Flury became very discouraged. His wife was not well and he was concerned over "the painful experience that Du Buque is a very unhealthy place for new German emigrants." He did not feel that the Home Missionary Society should continue to contribute four hundred dollars yearly for his support, yet he knew that the German congregation at Dubuque could

not buy a lot, build a church, and contribute toward his salary. "What should I now do?" he asks editorially, "Should I from fear of receiving no Salary desert the Poor People?"

At the same time the people in Galena, Illinois had begged Flury to become their pastor. "They raised a subscription amongst themselves for the Support of the Gospel," he asserts, "and promised either to build a church, or to buy that belonging to the Episcopalians which is to be sold." Moreover he had a "repeated call" from a German church in southern Illinois near St. Louis which was able "to Support their minister themselves" without aid from the Society. But with typical German perseverance he decided to remain at Dubuque. He was convinced that the Lord had directed their steps thus far and feared that the work begun there would be "lost for the future" if he gave it up. Whereas with "faithful perseverance" some enduring good might be accomplished to the "Honor and Glory of the Lord, and of lasting and essential benefit, Spiritual and Temporal for the Germans."[28]

8.

A Church is Built

In the summer of 1848 Peter Flury built the first German church at Dubuque on the Southwest corner of Iowa and Ninth Streets, now occupied by the City of Dubuque Fire Headquarters.[29] The building was made of brick at a cost of $870.00. All the members of the church belonged to the labouring class Deacons John Nicolaus Taubald, J. Gottlieb Wiedman, and Andrew Müller reported to the American Home Missionary Society, who had to "strive hard for their subsistence." Despite this handicap "$500 out of the $870" that the church cost in all, have been collected from the German Protestants of Dubuque. "$150 has been subscribed by generous friends and $220 are owing still." The church at this time had about one hundred members.[30] Holbrook was not so certain that the Germans had done all they were able to do in supporting Flury and contributing to the church building fund. Writing to the Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, Holbrook advised, "They have never been accustomed to it (supporting a church) in Europe where the ministry is supported by the state and besides as a whole they are penurious and inclined to hoard what they get."[31]

9.

The Work at Dubuque Interrupted

But Flury's work at Dubuque was rapidly drawing to a close although the circumstances ending his labor there were not all clear to him during the summer months. His wife had been ill for months with a slow, painful sickness which sapped her vitality. Peter realized her condition and drew back from the time when she would die. In the late fall or early winter she wrote a pathetic, yet beautiful letter to the American Home Missionary Society. "Allow me to say," she writes, "That my dear husband must in [the] future trouble you with German reports, as this is the last...I shall be able to translate for him....I desire to depart and be with Christ. My earthly tabernacle is wasting fast, and perhaps ere this reaches you, I may cease to be an inhabitant of this lower world. The Lord in mercy grant it may be so! and I shall have passed from death unto life. May the Lord bless you in every undertaking for the advancement of His kingdom, and fill your hands with means, and Himself prepare laborers, that you shall send in His name, unto all parts of his vineyard."[32]

After Mrs. Flury's death, Pastor Flury left Dubuque for Milwaukee, January 13, 1849, where he remained for a short time and then returned to his home in Saas, Switzerland. In spite of the sympathy he received from the members of his congregation and many American friends he left under an untruthful, uncharitable and damning stigma perpetrated by the German rationalists. "The enemies of religion here traduced him," Holbrook informed the Society, "and reported that he killed his wife, and came to this country for that purpose....The stories about his wife here followed him to Europe and made him trouble; but we sent despositions as to their falsity" which cleared his name.[33]

During the winter of 1850-1851, Holbrook and Milton Badger, Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society attempted to induce Peter Flury to return to America to take charge of the German work in the entire United States from offices in New York City.[34] For a time they had some chance of success because in that winter severe persecutions in Switzerland almost convinced Flury that he would be forced to leave his homeland permanently. By September, however, he wrote to Holbrook that he had applied to the "Secy. of Basle for a Ger. Minister" for Dubuque.[35]

10.

An Estimate of Flury

Peter Flury was "superior to most German ministers and in fact would stand high in any body of clergymen."[36] "He had a fine education," Holbrook wrote enthusiastically, "a good mind, speaks not only German, but also French (well) and Italian (excellently) and English (not well, but would soon perfect himself in it)." He was a "very active and faithful" pastor, thoroughly "evangelical (O.S.)" and wore himself out in labor. "He has, moreover," continued Holbrook, "correct views as to the true policy of amalgamating the Germans with our own population as fast as possible, in language, habits, etc."[37]

Pastor Peter Flury had accomplished much at Dubuque. He came into an untouched field, organized a church, purchased a lot and built a splendid little church. In addition he helped to organize German Congregational groups at Sherril's Mound, Tetes des Morts, Platteville, and Galena, and helped C. V. Hess establish German churches at Garnavillo, Farmersburg, and Guttenburg. He had a vision and unbounded energy to realize it. What he had begun was to be brought to its full fruition by his successors.

Chapter 5

JEAN BAPTISTE MADOULET

1.

Continues Flury's Work

Shortly after Pastor Peter Flury left Dubuque, Reverend Jean Baptiste Madoulet appeared to preach to the members of the German Evangelical Church. Madoulet was born in Cleve, a Prussian Rhine province, near Düsseldorf, in the year 1810. Little is known of his life prior to his advent in Dubuque. Holbrook in writing to Milton Badger, Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, mentions his previous service at Lawrenceburg, Indiana. Apparently Madoulet was destitute for a Rev. Rollin Mears of Quincy, Illinois, advanced him twenty dollars to pay his traveling expenses to Dubuque. At any rate, on February 6, 1849, less than a month after Flury's departure for Milwaukee, the deacons of the German Evangelical church of Dubuque petitioned the secretary of the Society "to transfer the amount appropriated to him [Flury] to Rev. Madoulet, who is now labouring with us."[1]

Jean Baptiste Madoulet took up his work in earnest. It appears that he was sincere, hardworking, and well-liked, even if somewhat impecunious. It is difficult to say what he would have done to feed himself, his wife, and their two children, if Holbrook had not on a number of occasions advanced him money out of funds contributed by his church for the Home Missionary Society. While in Dubuque, Holbrook took an active interest in the German missionaries and their work which is evidenced by his voluminous correspondence to the American Home Missionary Society.

2.

His Ministry at Dubuque

By the end of his first quarter's work Madoulet was able to report that the Germans in Dubuque had a "good house of worship built of brick" on which they had paid

"about $50.00 to reduce the debt." He did not know how the church of "not quite a hundred members" could remove the balance because "money is very scarce here and is not to be had except at enormous interest."[2] However, before another three months had passed, funds had been borrowed to pay the debt at "17½ percent interest." The struggling church was unable to borrow from its own congregation because almost all the members were poor. The German property holders in Dubuque were "all rationalists" who refused to contribute. The newly arriving immigrants, on the other hand, could do little more than earn their "Daily support."[3]

Despite these difficulties, Madoulet busied himself preaching at Dubuque. He commenced a Sunday School among the German people in "American Language and the different Denominations begin to send their youth to it, so we have hoop to do good in this way." He also conducted services at Tetes des Morts, and the "Frensh Settlement" (Centralia). He even found time to organize at Sherrils Mound a church of twenty-eight "Real members" almost all of whom were "hopeful Christians."[4]

On March 20, 1850, after a full year of service at Dubuque, Madoulet gave an accounting of his stewardship to the American Home Missionary Society. "Dear Brethern," he writes, "I sent you my Statiscal Report some what later as the time indicated ordinary - I was prevented to doe it sooner." When he took up his work at the German Evangelical Church of Dubuque there were eighty-two active members in the congregation. In the course of the year, seven "hopeful converts," were added to the membership in addition to thirteen others by "letter," and three more by "confirmation which gives evidence of change of heart." During the same period the Church lost twenty-two members: fifteen moved to some other community, two were "excommunicated," two were removed by death, and "we also diminished in strength three." The Sunday School of the German Evangelical Church which was conducted in English had fifty "scholars" and a library of one hundred volumes. More than likely the "volumes" were religious tracts in English and German supplied by the American Tract Society. During the year the Church at Dubuque had contributed six dollars and a half to the American Home Missionary Society.

At Sherrils Mound in Dubuque County, Madoulet reports there were seventeen members in the German Evangelical Church when he began to preach to them. Over the period of a year, nine were received in the Church by "hopeful conversion," four by confirmation, and nine

by letter. In the meantime five had moved away. The Sherril Church had raised two dollars and a half for the American Home Missionary Society.

Eight "meils Westward from Dubuque," (probably at Peosta) Madoulet organized a congregation of twenty members. Some of the members belonged to the Dubuque church. He preached at that place every "four weeks Sunday afternoon." Madoulet also organized a church at Centralia of twelve members most of whom were "pious Christians" where he preached every four weeks on Sunday afternoon. This church contributed two dollars to missionary work.

The above report is typical of the frontier missionary's activity among the German as well as among the scattered English speaking settlements on the frontier. The church made slow progress due to the shifting population, the large area for which the preacher felt responsible, the lack of religious interest, and the time-consuming labor required to create a home on the raw prairie.

In addition to such activity Madoulet gave private instruction to John Bantly, a young man preparing for the ministry, who in 1850 began his ministerial service in Platteville, Wisconsin. Bantly was "quit young but married" which prevented him going to college. He had studied the "Latin and Greek Language in Europa."[5]

3.

The Rationalists Drive Him Out

But "the emissaries of Satan" were stirring up opposition to Madoulet in Dubuque. The genesis of the trouble may be traced to the evening of July 4, 1849, when Madoulet held services "to render thanks to God for American Liberty; and to pray for like blessing on our oppressed brethern in Fatherland." While they were worshipping a "band of annemies of Christ" who professed "Rationalism" appeared and "openly insulted us at the door and windows - calling me a hypocrite[,] a pharisian[,] a blasphemer of God, etc." The meeting continued, however, but on two succeeding nights "worse scennes" were enacted at Madoulet's private residence at a late hour of night when ruffians made threats to drive him from Dubuque.[6]

The following year, July 4, 1850, Madoulet reported that some Roman Catholics had come in a "threatening and insulting manner." These irate rioters claimed to be

"good" Roman Catholics and not "Appostate protestants" and called upon "all Divels to witness the fact." They were angry because Madoulet had left some Protestant literature at their homes.[7]

These overt insults were symptomatic of a deeper current of antagonism which Madoulet seemed unable to grasp. Reverend John Holbrook, who saw the problem in its broader aspects, admitted to the American Home Missionary Society that he was recommending Madoulet for another year's service with "some hesitation." He expressed his belief that Madoulet was a good faithful man "but for the last six months there has been considerable dissatisfaction in his congregation...." Holbrook blamed the people more than the preacher, pointing out that they did not like "discriminating preaching." He maintained that "Romanism, Infidelity[,] and Rationalism" were making the "most powerful efforts...To break down the ministers influence." The astute Holbrook was "doubtful whether any man could avoid the difficulties" which beset Madoulet. The Dubuque church ought not to be abandoned however, and Holbrook accordingly urged that Madoulet should be commissioned until another man was found for the place. He hoped against hope that matters would improve.[8]

Contrarywise, the situation grew worse. When the Iowa General Assembly passed the Liquor Law of 1851 which denied a "License for Rhum sellers" Madoulet found the "Servents of Satan and defenders of wrong" vigorously attacking the Christian Church as an "institution to abolish all Liberty." All "ministers and priests" were charged with "tyranny" by the rabid foes of the temperance movement. War was proclaimed against the "disciples of Christ." Madoulet and his church, already a focal point of attack, suffered more than the other Christian institutions of Dubuque.[9] The opposition in Dubuque was headed by the German Odd Fellows' Lodge which Madoulet had unsparingly attacked as a center of intemperance and religious indifference.

During the summer of 1851 John Holbrook warned the American Home Missionary Society that Madoulet should not continue beyond the end of the year as their German Missionary in Dubuque. However, he did advise Secretary Badger that it would be worthwhile to appoint Madoulet to explore the State of Iowa for six months or a year in order to learn the "conditions and wants of the Germans." Reverend Holbrook recommended "Br. Gumbell" of Ft. Madison as Madoulet's successor. Gumbell had preached at Dubuque and was liked well enough to extend

him an invitation. Holbrook warned the church members, in as much as the church was now free of debt, that "they must raise 150 to 200" out of the four hundred dollars for the support of their minister. For some reason Gumbell never came to Dubuque.[10]

In October, 1851, Jean Baptiste Madoulet sent his last report to the American Home Missionary Society as their German missionary at Dubuque. Why Holbrook wrote it for him is not explained. Perhaps Madoulet could not express the sense of the letter as diplomatically as Holbrook. Or perhaps his disappointment, his sense of defeat, and his anger flowed too easily from his pen to paper. One can speculate that Madoulet wrote such a letter but Holbrook vetoed it and wrote instead the one which is now preserved in the Correspondence of the American Home Missionary Society. After pointing out that the encouragement at Dubuque had been "very small for some time past," as manifested in the "thinly attended" meetings, Madoulet concluded that it was best that he should not continue his labors after his commission expired for the year. There was opposition from without and lack of spirituality within the church. Some doubt was expressed "whether another man can minister here with success," but it was an important point "where a faithful church and minister can exert an influence on the Germans around."[11] So he ended his pastorate at Dubuque.

4.

On Supplying the Germans with Pastors

Madoulet, like his predecessor, Pastor Flury, was a member of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of the State of Iowa. He attended its meetings whenever convenient. In 1851, Madoulet and Holbrook were appointed a committee by the Dubuque Association to draft a plan for "more fully supplying the German population of this State with the means of Grace." The following year the two committeemen presented a plan to sustain as far as possible an "educated evangelical ministry" among the Germans. Naturally there were obstacles to the realization of such a plan. Sufficient numbers of educated evangelical German ministers were not available nor could sufficient money have been found to support them. Colporters, while of great value could not "meet the exigencies of the case." As an alternative the committee suggested that a "corps of Lay Preachers" be employed to labor among the German population in their respective neighborhoods. Such lay preachers were to earn their own livelihood as farmers, bakers, or some

other profession while at the same time devoting sufficient time to study to prepare themselves for "useful and edifying" missionary labor. Their salary was not to exceed "one hundred dollars to each" to be paid out of a fund raised and disbursed by "the committee on German missions."[12] Clearly, the plight of the Germans in the Upper Mississippi Valley was desperate. It was no easy task to solve the difficulties as the above plan, so hopefully adopted, shows. At Dubuque, a new phase of German missionary work was about to begin.

5.

An Estimate of Madoulet

The most important contribution of Madoulet at Dubuque was that of continuing the church which Pastor Flury had established. Even though he was forced to give up his pastorate because of opposition in the community and lagging interest within the church Madoulet did not lose the confidence of Reverend Holbrook or the other Congregational ministers of Iowa. Neither was his spirit daunted. Unfortunately his dominating character, his lack of tact, and his flaming righteous indignation seemed to alienate more of his fellow countrymen than his missionary zeal attracted to the church. He is not the first preacher to drive away his congregation with more vehemence in denouncing their faults than tact and leadership in winning them to the religion of Jesus Christ.

Madoulet's wife took little interest in his work. She was a poor manager of the home and was too lenient with their two sons who continually ran wild. She possessed one faculty which antagonized the church members. She was an inveterate beggar. On every excursion into the country, Frau Madoulet returned with "geese, chickens, eggs, fruits, and other things." She dominated her husband, this "strict, fat wife [who] had him under her thumb."[13]

The correspondence of Madoulet reveals him as a staunch evangelical preacher, one who had a wide knowledge of philosophy and theology. Like his predecessor, Flury, he was able to preach in German, French, and English. Also on at least two occasions he preached to a group of Hollanders in "Halland Language."[14]

Madoulet's missionary tour among the Germans of Iowa during the winter of 1851-1852 stands out as a unique contribution to the knowledge of the German popu-

lation at that time. All in all, he is as important a figure in the German church at Dubuque as his predecessor and successor. From Dubuque, Madoulet went to Burlington, Iowa, where for a year he attempted to work among the Germans. Lack of success at that place led him into Missouri where he attempted to organize a church near St. Joseph, at Boyer's Settlement on "One Hundred Two River."[15]

The Pastorate at Dubuque was to remain vacant only a short time. Adrian Van Vliet, the founder of German Presbyterianism in the West, was to take up his work at that place.

Chapter 6

ADRIAN VAN VLIET[1]

1.

His Life in Holland

The story of Adrian Van Vliet's life reads like a typical romance of many frontier leaders. His origin is obscure. The only known facts about his birth is that it occurred in Holland on March 28, 1809.[2] He was reared by his grandparents who were fisher-folk living on their own boat buying fish and selling them from village to village.[3] As a child, Adrian Van Vliet lived a lonesome yet interesting life. Although he had no playmates of his own age yet he nevertheless had a rich and varied experience as their fishing boat plied along the coast among the sea going traders and moored at wharves where the market ways of the world crossed.

At the age of four a new vista of potential knowledge was opened before him when he saw his first book. Two years later, after much pleading, he was rewarded with one of his own. His first reading lessons were at the knee of his grandfather. When he was nine years old his grandparents gave up fishing for work on land more suitable to their declining years. This gave Adrian an opportunity to go to school, to attend church, and to make friends with children of his own age.

Like many other Dutch boys young Adrian learned a trade. He was apprenticed to a master-tailor and learned the craft of hat- or cap-making. This trade he followed until he entered the ministry. Near the age of twenty Van Vliet entered the Dutch army to serve his year's compulsory military training.[4] Before his year's service was over Belgium revolted against Holland (August 25, 1830). For five years he saw active service before he was returned to private life with an <u>ehrenpaz</u> or honorable discharge.

As Adrian Van Vliet developed into a young man, traits of character began to emerge which were to determine his future course of action. He became highly

introspective; he began to brood over his own unformed religious ideas and experiences but was unable to formulate a definite course of action. The lack of religious training in his childhood left him without fixed religious ideas. The Catholic doctrine of good works appealed to him for a time. Then he turned briefly toward Judaism, skirted agnosticism, and even studied Arminianism. It was not until his nineteenth birthday that he became certain enough in his religious convictions to join the Dutch Reformed Church. Even then he did not receive complete religious satisfaction but struggled with doubt until long after he came to America. To dispel his skepticism Adrian Van Vliet studied the Bible as well as books on theology diligently. He was especially influenced by William A. Brakel's Redelijke Godsdienst.[5]

Reading became an important part of Adrian Van Vliet's life. Among the books which formed the bulk of his reading were Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Jan Luiken's works,[6] books of travel, a history of Holland, religious catechisms, and the Bible. According to his own statement he read to excess while still a lad and under a doctor's care had to forgo all reading for a time. This thirst for knowledge led him to acquire during his lifetime a library of two hundred and thirty-five volumes of religious, theological, and historical books all of which he no doubt read.

Very early in life, Van Vliet became conscious of the religious needs of others. The spiritual condition of his grandparents was a constant worry to him. In the army he was shocked and grieved with the unreligious attitudes and actions of his fellow soldiers. The "blasphemy" of most of the passengers on the ship which brought him to America was of grave concern.

Almost immediately upon his return to civilian life Adrian Van Vliet was caught up in the Christian Reformed movement away from the Dutch Reformed church. He understood imperfectly the issues involved, but since the conflict created loyalties to one group or the other, Van Vliet cast his lot with the dissenters. Gradually, however, he became convinced that he had made an unwise choice and returned his support to the orthodox or Reformed church. His own religious beliefs were shaken by the theological questions involved in the schism and for a time he was in a spiritual and mental torment. Also his change of religious position cost him many close friendships and cruel persecutions even to threats against his life.

Many other Hollanders who had been caught in the storm of religious controversy and persecution found life an unhappy lot in their native country. Under those circumstances a well defined migration to America began which brought among others the Dutch to Pella, Iowa, under the leadership of Henry P. Scholte.[7] A news item reporting that ministers and church members were emigrating to the United States suggested a way of escape for Adrian Van Vliet. In August, 1847, in the "firm conviction that he went the way of the Lord" he left Amsterdam, Holland, on the Bark Ceres, H. Hodge, commanding, arriving at New York on September 1, 1847.[8] It was during the voyage that the "great impiety" of most of the passengers was a "grievious trial" to him. One instance may suffice: when he first said grace at mealtime on the boat he was met with the cursing and storming of wicked men, a fact which clearly suggests that he was in the minority of Dutch religious immigrants on that particular boat. Indeed, he probably was alone.

2.

The Immigrant's Trail

Shortly after Adrian Van Vliet's arrival in New York he found work at his trade. He also joined the "Reformed Dutch Church" located on Houston Street in New York City.[9] Two influences led him to leave New York City. In the first place, although the moral life was "tolerably well ordered" there was an absence of "spiritual life." Secondly, and strangely perhaps, his wife had an unexplainable urge to go west. She had no destination in mind nor any logical reason for her impulse, but she would not be turned aside.[10] So they migrated to St. Louis, Missouri, in the spring of 1849. There is no evidence extant describing their route from New York City to St. Louis. It is logical to presume that they followed one of the well defined emigrant trails to the West. Perhaps they went by railroad to Buffalo, New York, then followed the Great Lakes to Chicago. From Chicago to St. Louis they could have followed the newly opened Illinois-Michigan Canal to St. Louis. Or, they may have travelled to Pittsburgh by rail and coursed down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to St. Louis.

During their short stay in St. Louis Adrian Van Vliet became a member of the Second Presbyterian Church.[11] At the same time he joined a Dutch Bible study group and soon emerged as its leader. This is the first evidence

of Van Vliet's religious and missionary zeal expressing itself in overt action. But his experience in St. Louis was not a happy one. He was shocked by the crime in this hub of river traffic. There were to be found steamboats from the Ohio and its tributaries: the Allegheny and the Monongahela. From the Upper Mississippi, the Wisconsin, the Fever, and the Des Moines rivers they came. Down from the muddy Missouri, up from the Red River, the Arkansas, the Tennessee, and the Lower Mississippi steamboats churned. To St. Louis they brought products of a thriving nation and carried emigrants and supplies to build a growing empire. It was indeed the hub of the West. He was annoyed by the continuous clanging of fire engines. The "very dirty" streets, gloomy houses, "atmosphere murky from continual smoke," and sudden changes in temperature during the winter months made him long to be back again in his "quiet mountains." No doubt the clanging of fire engines and the atmosphere murky with smoke was the result of the "conflagration" at St. Louis on May 17, 1849, which consumed twenty-three steamboats as well as docks and warehouses along the river front.[12] In May of 1849 he went into the "Northwest," probably ascending the upper Mississippi by steamboat. At any rate he settled at Galena.

Illness and tragedy was Van Vliet's lot at Galena. Soon after his arrival he became so ill with "rheumatism in the head" that he was bedfast for three months. In the meantime his wife took sick and, although the best medical attention available was secured, she soon died. Van Vliet sublimated his misfortunes into his religious philosophy exclaiming "The Lord is wise, righteous, holy and good." Having buried his wife, he faced the world alone, ill, and sorrowful. He could still find solace in his belief that the "Lord was near and kind to me."

As the hot days of July faded, loneliness and sad memories prompted him to leave Galena. Platteville in nearby Wisconsin first beckoned to him. There he had a friend. Also at that same place the German minister had conducted himself "so badly" that his congregation was reported to have determined to have nothing more to do with preachers. "Shall the whole people be lost" Van Vliet asked himself and found the answer in his own determination to go and minister to them. Procuring some tracts in English and German he prepared to go to Platteville.

At that time the only means of travel from Galena to Platteville was by stage over the rough road across the rolling prairie. His head was still so sensitive

that he could not bear the least jar. To travel by stage seemed impossible, yet he was determined to go. The only other course within his means was to walk. He determined to do this, walking ahead of the stage in case fatigue would force him to rely upon it. After reaching the "Twelve Mile House" and refreshing himself with food and rest he concluded the remaining twelve miles on foot.

3.

The Call

Platteville became Van Vliet's first real home in America. The town was small but well situated on a knoll which commanded a view of the rolling prairie which fell away from it in all directions. A surrounding grove of trees lent it charm and quietness. The German population, which at first looked upon Van Vliet with suspicion, soon accepted him as one of their own for he quickly convinced them that he was in truth a friendly Christian.

On August 29, 1849, the minutes of the Platteville Congregational Church record that Adrian Van Vliet was accepted by a "Certificate of Dismission and recommendation" from the Second Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, requesting that he be received into the Platteville church. The Platteville Congregational Church had been organized as a Presbyterian Church by Reverend Aratus Kent of Galena, Illinois, on "Aug. 17[,] A.D. 1839." It remained in the Presbyterian faith until under the leadership of Reverend John Lewis the congregation "voted unanimously to change the name and form of government from Presbyterian to Congregational" in accordance with a special act of the Legislature authorizing the change.[13]

Religious and intellectual stimulation surrounded Adrian Van Vliet at Platteville. One of the most forceful citizens of that community, Reverend John Lewis, was so much revered by his congregation that he became known as "The Saint John" of the local Congregational Church. As early as the winter of 1842, the Academy (Congregational) was chartered. During Van Vliet's stay in Platteville, Mr. Webster Pickard was principal. Pickard and Lewis planned and worked side by side for the growth of the church and the academy. Together they were responsible for leading eleven young men into church work as missionaries or preachers. One of these men was Adrian Van Vliet.[14]

A close friendship developed between Van Vliet and John Bantly, a young German preacher.[15] Together they searched the "Truth of God" to their mutual benefit. Van Vliet's faith became surer, his zeal for religious work stronger, and his concern for the souls of the increasing German population more anxious until his young friend suggested that he enter the ministry. At first the suggestion was decisively rejected. Yet, the seed which had been planted grew until Van Vliet asked himself, "If the Lord has given thee a pound, and thou wilt bury it in a handkerchief, is there no responsibility in that?" He consulted Reverend Lewis and was encouraged to follow his friend's advice. That he did by applying for a license from the Mineral Point Convention of Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers and Churches "To preach the Gospel to the Germans." His application was granted for one year after a committee had examined him and recommended that he study for a year under the direction of "Rev. Mess'rs. Lewis, Eaton and Bantley."[16]

Adrian Van Vliet must have held a pastorate during the year of his licensure, but the records fail to show it. However, one year later, at a special meeting of the Mineral Point Convention at Hazel Green, Wisconsin, Van Vliet applied for ordination for "special reasons." An examining committee recommended that he be ordained and the ordination services were held at the home of Lewis Rood in Hazel Green on March 11, 1852.[17] The "special reasons" for his ordination were doubtless to enable him to accept the call to the German Evangelical Church of Dubuque. A statistical table for the year of 1852, compiled in September, records after Van Vliet's name "Out of our bounds."[18] The same year he is listed in the Iowa Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers as a member of that body.

4.

"The Fullness of Time"

Circumstances converged upon the time of Adrian Van Vliet's acceptance of the call to the German Evangelical Church of Dubuque to create the need and opportunity for the work which he established and for which he showed eminent talent. The rapidity of the German migration to the Upper Mississippi Valley has been shown both in Census figures and in J. B. Madoulet's report of his tours of Iowa. Moreover, Madoulet intimately revealed the low spiritual condition of the Germans in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Missionaries on the frontier had besieged the secretary of the American Home Missionary Society for

German colporters and preachers. A vital and urgent need existed. The Iowa Association of the Congregational Churches and Ministers had drawn up a long and pointed overture urging the training of lay preachers to meet the challenge of the German population.

A pattern of action to answer the Home Missionary Society's query "What shall be done for the Germans" was already established. As early as 1844 Pastors Hermann Garlicks and Joseph A. Rieger of the Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens had taken promising young men into their homes to prepare them for the ministry.[19] Four years later Wilhelm F. Binner, and later Joseph A. Rieger, took two students to train in theology.[20] These steps led to the establishment of the Deutsche evangelische Seminar bie Marthasville in 1849, at Marthasville, Missouri, by the Kirchenverein.[21] Adrian Van Vliet intimately knew the work of the Academy at Platteville. Moreover, J. B. Madoulet had set the precedent at Dubuque by training John Bantly for the ministry.

Van Vliet was well aware of the need for German ministers, having voiced it himself. He was familiar with frontier methods of training young men for the ministry in the homes of the pastors. A burning zeal to show men the way to Christ had been kindled within him.

5.

Van Vliet Goes to Dubuque

As far as the Home Missionary Society was concerned the fiscal year for missionaries at Dubuque began and ended on October third since that was the date on which the first commission was sent to Pastor Flury. However, Madoulet began his work in the middle of the year and during his two years at Dubuque had observed his annual report date on March third. As long as Van Vliet remained in the service of the Society he sent his annual reports on or about the third of March. The letter from the trustees of the German Evangelical Church at Dubuque asked for the renewal of Van Vliet's commission which had expired "April 1st 1853."[22]

Dubuque was a hard place to serve. Madoulet had been practically forced to leave by his rationalistic and Catholic enemies. Indifference had laid hold of the German congregation, at the same time, the Catholic and Methodist churches were holding services in that language. But Van Vliet had some characteristics in his favor. He was now about forty-three years of age. The

hard school of practical experience during his childhood and long service in the Dutch army had seasoned him. Travel had broadened his outlook. A varied religious experience in Holland and America had given him a broad tolerance, in theory if not in practice. His theology was fundamentally Calvinistic - what he did not get from Brăkel's Theology he developed from his own study, reading, and speculation. Having emerged from the ranks as one who earned his livelihood by means of a trade, and his wide experience, gave Van Vliet a contact with men which was something more than mere pastor-layman relationship. And, finally, Adrian Van Vliet was not a German but a Hollander - a fact which made him less vulnerable to German antagonism than either Flury or Madoulet had been. Whatever Van Vliet's abilities were they made success possible for him in Dubuque.

Van Vliet is described by Jacob Conzett as a slender man of medium height. A high forehead was the dominant characteristic of his long face which was deeply lined. His "large, wide" mouth and flashing eyes expressed courage and character. There was "something irresistable" about him which drew all classes of people to hear him preach while he seemed to dominate every situation into which he was thrown. Although he had trouble with the German language, both as to accent and grammar, his listeners were so compelled by the appeal of his sermons that linguistic peculiarities sank into insignificance.[23]

That Van Vliet experienced some opposition in the beginning at Dubuque is expressed in his first quarterly report. The church was no longer working against him, Van Vliet writes, although he did not "preats (preach) smoot (smooth)" things to the congregation but rather presented "the whol[e] thruth to them kindly yed pointedly." The church was prospering and had "increast with 16 members" while there was an awakening "inthrest in religion." There were still "atheists and daists" who sought opportunity to destroy religion but he "depenth on de Lord for help." To better enable him to reach the young people of his church and to train the church members in religion Van Vliet established a Sabbath school and a Bible class. Like his predecessor, Van Vliet was preaching at Sherrils Mound and Tetes des Morts.[24]

At the close of his third quarter's work Van Vliet reported to the society that the church was "growing in members and...grace." He had the "confidence and sympathies" of his congregation, especially the younger members. Regular services were held on Sunday morning and evening with prayer meeting on Wednesday as well as

monthly concert meetings.[25] Three months later, summarizing his year's work, Van Vliet reported that he had "preached 150 Sermons in Du Buque all of them Doctrinal and practical" because there was a great need of "sound doctrin[e]." All church meetings were well attended and the congregation was making arrangements to install him as their pastor.[26] During the year thirty new members had joined the church but at the same time twenty had been dismissed, yet there was a net gain. Services were held once a month at Tetes des Morts.[27]

Other Van Vliet reports followed in each succeeding quarter. However, with his quarterly report of January 5, 1854, Van Vliet included a personal letter to Milton Badger, the Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society. Because of the significance of that letter it is quoted at length:

> Dear Sir:
>
> I wish to say a few words in private to yourself, or if you think it best to make it known to the Society you are at liberty so to do.
>
> I have recd a call from this congregation to become its pasture, but feel myself bothered and know not what to do. I was raised in the Dutch Reformed church and consequently I am strong Calvonistic. The church in general are also a Calvonistic as the most of them are from Switzerland. Our church government also is more in the presbyterian form, but look upon that as a secondary matter. And we are united here with the congregationallist associations - but now I have found that the Association is not as sound in doctrine as I had first thought, that it was, - but now I should like to unite myself, to the Cedar Presbytery, as they have the same doctrine and church government as we had. Notwithstanding I feel greatly burthened to leave you, as we feel under many obligations to your Society - and could we but unite with the Cedar Presbytery and remain in your society, is the wish of my heart -
>
> I trust that you will take this matter seriously into consideration and shall hold myself to hear your council in the matter and hop[e] that you may write me soon
>
> Yours truly
>
> A. Van Vliet.[28]

The traditional legend is to the effect that Van Vliet turned Presbyterian before he became pastor of the German Evangelical Church of Dubuque. However, the evidence that he was a Congregationalist and remained so until after the above letter was written is irrefutable. The first evidence is that he joined the Platteville Congregational Church on August 29, 1849, about six weeks after that church became Congregational.[29] The second is his ordination at Hazel Green in 1852 by the Mineral Point Association of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches and Ministers as a Congregational minister.[30] The third is in the letter quoted above written on January 5, 1854, almost two years after his coming to Dubuque. Again, on June 8, 1853, Julius A. Reed, a Congregational missionary in Iowa, and a correspondent for the Home Missionary Society urged the continuation of Van Vliet at Dubuque for another year. "Br. Van Vliet is a thorough Calvinist in theology, and entertains correct views of regeneration," Reverend Reed explained, adding after his signature "P.S. Br. Van Vliet is a member of Dubuque Association and his P. O. is Dubuque, Iowa."[31] Moreover, in the Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of the State of Iowa from 1840 to 1855 Van Vliet's name appears as a member of that Association in 1852 and again in 1853, but not in 1854.[32]

The prime evidence of Van Vliet's first association with the Presbyterian organization of Iowa would be the minute Book of the Cedar Presbytery erected in 1851 by the Synod of Illinois and divided in 1855 by the Synod of Iowa. That record cannot be found. However, the name of Adrian Van Vliet appears in the minutes of the Synod of Iowa among the members of the Cedar Presbytery ministers at the regular synodical meeting in the fall of 1854.[33] On March 28, 1854, by a unanimous vote of the congregation, the German Evangelical Church of Dubuque became the First German Presbyterian Church.[34] The following year, on June 28, 1855, this church was incorporated under the laws of Iowa.[35] The first cycle was complete, a German Presbyterian Church had been founded which was destined to become the mother of German Presbyterianism in the Upper Mississippi Valley.

The step from Congregationalism to Presbyterianism, or the opposite, was a short one. Both were founded on strict Calvinism. The difference was more of polity than theology. On the frontier, at least, it was not uncommon for churches to transfer from one sect to the other. Such was the case of Platteville, Wisconsin, Congregational Church, the First Congregational Church

at Dubuque, Iowa, as well as many German Evangelical churches. In fact, many ministers supported by the American Home Missionary Society were at liberty to establish churches of either denomination. That was true of the Iowa Band. The men of that famous group of eleven missionaries did not know when they came to Iowa whether they would become Presbyterians or Congregationalists. In the final analysis, the decision was made for them by the dominating interest of the congregations they organized in their mission churches. Therefore, Van Vliet's transfer from Congregationalism to Presbyterianism was not a radical change nor an unusual one.

It is surprising that a Presbyterian church took root at all among the Germans. No question would be raised about a Lutheran or a Catholic church among them because those religions were carried to America by the immigrants. Although Calvinism made scattered converts in the southern part of Germany it did not claim whole provinces as did Lutheranism and Catholicism. Therefore to the majority of the Germans the Presbyterian doctrine was strange and in many cases unwelcome. A number of special influences caused the development of Presbyterianism among the German emigrants at Dubuque. These influences are not difficult to state.

In the first place, beginning in 1847, with the commissioning of Pastor Peter Flury as a Congregational Home Missionary at Dubuque protestant work among the Germans spread throughout the neighborhood. German churches or missions were established at Sherrils Mound, Garnavillo, Farmersburg, Guttenburg, French Settlement (Centralia), Davenport, Burlington and Muscatine. But the church at Dubuque had a different background than the others. Flury was from Switzerland, a strong Calvinist leaning toward the Presbyterian system. Madoulet, probably a Reformed Lutheran in his background, had become so thoroughly evangelical that he leaned definitely toward Calvinistic teachings. And Van Vliet, a Hollander, more strongly Calvinistic than either of his predecessors, at first Congregational, became convinced that Presbyterianism was his true church home and led his congregation into that denomination. Moreover, the majority of the church members were Swiss protestants, therefore Calvinists. Emigrants from Switzerland so dominated the church group that it was commonly referred to in Dubuque as the Swiss Church. The work which lay ahead of this zealous Dutch preacher and his loyal congregation was to be a monumental contribution to their vision.

Chapter 7

FOUNDING A GERMAN PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

1.

The Beginning

In the light of historical evidence, J. B. Madoulet was the originator, if not the founder, of theological training at Dubuque when he took J. Bantly[1] into his home and trained him for the ministry and guided him through his preparation for ordination.[2] Not until more than a year after he began preaching at Dubuque did Adrian Van Vliet follow the example of Madoulet and the German ministers of the Kirchenverein. Thus, in April, 1853, Van Vliet informed the American Home Missionary Society that he had two young men "studying" with him for the ministry.[3] These two young men, A. Kolb and Jacob Kolb, remained under Van Vliet's direction until 1854 and 1856 respectively so that both of them entered the ministry as Presbyterian ministers.[4]

During his first year at Dubuque Van Vliet had recognized his own inability to minister to the large and widely spread German population that had settled in the area surrounding Dubuque. Moreover, as he saw this population increasing at a rapid rate and falling under the influence of non-Christian and anti-Christian influences because of a lack of preachers the concern which he had felt during his lifetime for the spiritual welfare of others urged him to find ways and means of carrying the gospel to them. If he could not serve them personally perhaps he could do so vicariously through young men trained by himself. To realize that vision, Van Vliet began his teaching in a humble way.

There were many forces in Iowa which Protestant religious leaders had to compete with. At Salubria, in Van Buren County, Abner Kneeland had established a colony of Atheists. Nearer Dubuque, at Communia, in Clayton County, a mutualistic experiment devoid of Christian influence was in progress. From Nauvoo, Illinois, to Kanesville (Council Bluffs) a chain of Mormon "Camps of Israel" were developing into permanent settlements

of the Latter Day Saints. In Adams County, a new socio-economic philosophy then sweeping America had taken root in the Phalanx of Icaria. While Icarians were not militantly anti-religious they professed no religious interest. At the same time, Bishop Mathias Loras, building on the work begun by Father Mazzuchelli, was making Dubuque County the Rome of the Upper Mississippi Valley. German emigrants only lightly bound to the State Church of Germany were easy prey to any one of the many influences feared by Adrian Van Vliet.[5]

Not many men have embarked on such an important work with so few qualifications. His knowledge of and ability to use the German language, which was the vehicle of his teaching, was imperfect. At least one of his students began to preach in the German language with a Dutch accent which he had acquired from his master.[6] Although we have no record of Van Vliet's schooling it probably was limited to the elementary grades of the Dutch schools. Essentially he was self taught. He depended on one principal source of theology, that of William A. Bräkel. Bräkel was a theologian of the Dutch Reformed Church, with definite Pietistic leanings, who outlined the fundamental religious concepts which separated the Reformed Church from the State Church on the one hand and the Christian Reformed Church on the other. What Van Vliet lacked in formal training and facility with the German language he supplied with zeal for German evangelization and simple faith that God would use his modest efforts to accomplish the work to which he had set his hand.

On the other hand Adrian Van Vliet was very familiar with the Dutch Reformed Church Catechism and with the Bible. The former he knew word for word, and entire books of the Bible he could recite from memory, but his knowledge of the Bible was deeper than mere memory. His knowledge and understanding of the Bible grew with his years of study. The time was to come in the latter days of his life when he was recognized as "one of the ablest theologians" in the Presbyterian Church. Van Vliet developed a "power of discrimination and tact" in dealing with "Knotty" theological problems that few men attain.[7] In his preaching he had the ability to take an entire book of the Old or New Testament and explain the underlying truths embodied in it in one well-developed sermon. His dissertations were never written, neither did he use sermon notes but spoke out of his knowledge and experience. Above all was his burning zeal "to save souls." This last trait, without a doubt, carried him to success where many another with similar training would have failed.

2.

Building the "Blue Church"

In the year 1856 Van Vliet led his congregation to sell their church property and erect another church at a new location. Two reasons prompted this action: the existing church, only thirty by fifty feet, had become too small for their congregation and the property which they owned had increased in value to such an extent that there was a temptation to realize the profit in order to build a larger and better church farther from the center of the city. The original price paid to Horatio W. Sanford for the lot on the southwest corner of Ninth and Iowa Street in 1848, was two hundred and fifty-three dollars.[9] Across the street, on the southeast corner of Ninth and Iowa Streets, lived Andrew Keeseker, the typesetter and printer of The Du Buque Visitor, the first newspaper published in Iowa. Three years later, in 1851, twenty feet from the original lot was sold to A. Miller for one hundred dollars.[10] In the spring of 1856 the trustees of the German Presbyterian Church sold the remainder for $4500 to Sanford from whom they had made the original purchase.[11] The City of Dubuque Fire Department Headquarters now occupy this property.

With the profit thus realized the Dubuque German Presbyterian Church purchased the southeast corner of Seventeenth and Iowa Streets for two thousand dollars from George and Caroline Burton; the sale was consumated on June 21, 1856.[12] With the remaining money they built a stone church covering it inside and outside with plaster which was painted blue. As long as the church stood it was known as the "Blue Church." The color was no doubt influenced by Adrian Van Vliet's Dutch background. The building was forty by sixty feet, two stories high. The basement was divided into six rooms, five of which were fitted out as living quarters for the pastor and the sixth for the purpose of a Sunday school room. The church auditorium was on the main floor.[13]

The church was not yet completed when it was discovered that there was an unrecorded mortgage on the lot for seventeen hundred dollars. This was a bitter disappointment. Although Van Vliet attempted to raise money in the East to meet the obligation he was unsuccessful and the debt had to be met by the church members themselves.[14]

Into this new building, before the snows of winter began to fall, the congregation and the pastor moved.

Here Adrian Van Vliet established his study, and here the young men whom he was training for the ministry assembled. It was in the basement rooms of this old "Blue Church" that the incipient seminary was to live and to grow for the next sixteen years.

3.

Operating the School

The "School" for training German ministers at Dubuque was in the beginning an intensified course in theology only. Instruction was carried on in Van Vliet's study from ten to twelve o'clock five days a week using William A. Brakel's Redlicher Godsdienst as a textbook. The method of teaching was "catechistical." There were no other subjects taught so that what general knowledge the students gained had to be on their own initiative, but, concerning theology, they had a "Master who could not be beaten."[15]

Some of the students had the advantage of study at Alexander College, a coeducational institution in Dubuque under the care of the Synod of Iowa. Alexander College was transferred in 1852 from Fort Madison, Iowa, where it had been known as Des Moines College to place it in a more central position within the synodical bounds.[16] A few, coming from Switzerland[17] had had some training in the school established by Pastor Flury in Schiers, while others came directly to study with Van Vliet having little educational background except that offered by the frontier schools of the time. These theological students studied from one to seven years depending on their previous schooling, the amount of time, energy, and money they wanted to spend as well as the current demand for German Presbyterian ministers. Frequently the supply of ministers outran the demand of organized churches whereupon Van Vliet with a student or another minister would go to a near by German community and organize a new church. In this manner German churches were established at Lycurgus and Waukon, Allamakee County, Iowa, on August 10 and 11, 1856, respectively; at Dyersville, Iowa, July 7, 1859; at Sherrils Mound, Iowa, June 25, 1859;[18] and the "East Friesland German Church," Aetna Township, Grundy County, Iowa, in 1865.[19] Each church was established under the Presbyterian polity and the members enrolled after submitting a letter of dismissal attesting to their good standing in a previous church or after having made a confession of faith according to the Presbyterian doctrines.

The lack of evidence obscures the first financial

arrangements, if any, that Aarian Van Vliet made with his students. It is believed, however, that for the first years he provided board and room as well as books without charge. But as the number of candidates increased from two to five, to nine and later to eighteen the mounting expense was too heavy for a minister to bear who received only four-hundred dollars a year for his pastoral services and no remuneration for his teaching. To meet the growing costs two dollars a week was charged for room and board. Even this sum failed to meet the cost of food and fuel so that additional aid was sought in the form of farm produce. One of the students rode around the country in a horse and wagon to collect the gifts in kind which had previously been solicited by Van Vliet. The purchase list below has been taken from an account book of the German Theological Seminary for the Month of October, 1869, and is typical of the cost of operation above the gifts collected from charitably minded friends.

Date	1869	$ cts.
Oct. 2	Squash .20. Tomatoes .10	30
"	Plate .20. Salary for Hanna[20] 8.85	9 05
5	Cinnamon .15 bread .50. Tomatoes .20	85
"	Tomatoes .10	10
7	Oil .50. Lights .20. ropes .15. clothespins .15	1 00
8	Apple peeler	1 25
9	Tomatoes, spices .25. Butter 2.10. file .15	2 50
11	Hanna	40
12	Carrots, Endive 1.60, meat 2.85	4 45
14	Alum 5, celery .25. milk .25. Rice 1.	1 55
"	Milk .10, Vinegar .35, celery .50, eggs	2 20
16	Butter 6. Carrots 1.60. oil .50	8 10
18	Milk .10. (19) Milk .10, eggs .78, corn 1.50	2 48
19	bread .50. back debt to G. Moery 7.50	8 00
20	pickels 3., beans etc. 4.	7 00
20	gas for portable gas light .25, bucket .65	90
21	Bran 2. (22) chicken feed .80, bran 1.60	4 40
23	chickens .90 (25) bread .50	1 30
25	potatoes from Bolyn	14 00
30	Mr. Brand for meat from August 1st up to date	58 50
30	Groceries from Bittmann and Schroeder from Sept. 2nd. up to now	47 90
30	Ferry for Sisters .90, 6 chickens 1., oil can	2 45

Date	1869	$ cts.
Oct. 30	122 lbs. of meat (1 pound 26) 9.75, boards .55	10 30
"	Dried apples 1. Milk .10, salary for Hanna 2.	3 10
31	Tacks .05. Bacon .05.	10
		192 18[21]

Moreover, to insure an income from students to meet the burden of maintenance and instruction the Education Committee of the Presbytery of Dubuque, Iowa, and the Presbytery of Dane, Wisconsin - which also sent students to Dubuque - regularly recommended to the Board of Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America worthy students for aid in varying sums from fifty to one hundred and fifty dollars.[22]

As is the case in any educational institution more students enrolled and studied than finished the complete course covering a number of years. No records are extant which list the students in attendance from year to year. However, between 1856 and 1871 inclusive twenty-six students were "graduated" from the school.[23]

Without a doubt it was the press of numbers studying with Van Vliet which led him to secure additional dormitory room through the purchase of a lot in 1863, adjacent to the church building, on which were located two small buildings.[24] The houses were altered and six-hundred dollars raised to outfit a kitchen. The school had taken a new and important step.

4.

The Seminary Under the Presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane

Up to this time the Theological training school at Dubuque was the personal project of Adrian Van Vliet. Some assistance was given to him by his congregation, by the German protestants around the countryside, and by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America which aided German students studying at the school. But a new phase which had been developing for the control of the school came to head in 1864, when Van Vliet gave both the Seminary and the power to govern it to the Presbyteries of Dubuque, Iowa, and Dane, Wisconsin.

As to the causes of this important change we can only speculate, but certainly the following are pertinent.

It was the practice of both the Presbytery of Dubuque and the Presbytery of Dane to accept Van Vliet's students as candidates for the ministry, to examine and license them, in due time to hold the trials for their induction into the ministry, and if they succeeded in passing the examinations to ordain them.[25] It was natural that in the course of events the Presbyteries involved would demand some part in the control of the institution which trained their ministers and which they helped to support.

Moreover, the work involved was certainly more than one man could carry on successfully if he expected to maintain his health over a long period of time. Van Vliet was a pastor, the manager and director of a theological school which involved teaching, administration, the raising of funds, and many other tasks. In addition he was frequently called upon in the capacity of a missionary to establish new churches. All this he did willingly in spite of the fact that tuberculosis was gradually undermining his energy.[26] Although he was to remain active at his tasks for another five years his work was gradually lessened.

Then, too, the financial load was more than his slender income could support although it was augmented by student payments. Many of the students were poor and paid their obligations irregularly. Moreover the added burden of nine-hundred dollars for the dormitory facilities was more than he could carry. This is supported by an overture of the Presbytery of Dane, Wisconsin, calling for a committee of three to be appointed "to confer with the Presbytery of Dubuque" for the purpose of "adopting measures in concert" with Dubuque Presbytery in order to raise funds to "remove incumberances from certain property purchased by Mr. Van Vliet for church purposes."[27]

In addition, both the presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane belonged to the Old School while the majority of presbyteries and churches in the west followed the New School organization. This was true because the New School was more closely associated with the American Home Missionary Society and the Congregational Associations of Ministers and Churches. When the Old School Presbyterians had expelled the New School congregations from the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, they had at the same time severed their connection with both the American Home Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions. At the same time, they were forced to rely upon the resources of the Presbyterian Church only to finance their home and foreign mission projects.[28] Moreover, Dubuque and Dane presbyteries were

particularly concerned with evangelization missionary work among the Germans. To achieve this purpose promising German boys were recommended to Van Vliet to be trained for missionary work among German families. If sufficient spiritual interest was shown by the German community, a church was established for them, and a minister was supplied. Until the congregations of the infant churches were able to raise enough money for their own support, they were aided by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church.[29] Although the New School had established seminaries to train their ministers this was not true of the Old School, especially of those presbyteries training ministers for the German churches. Here was a theological seminary in existence ready made for their use. It was logical that they should make it their own "if the way be clear."

Whatever were the pertinent reasons for their action the Presbytery of Dubuque on April 12, 1864 appointed a committee to confer with a similar committee of the Presbytery of Dane to consider the proposition of receiving under the care of their presbyteries the German Theological School conducted by "Bro[.] Van Vliet in Dubuque."[30] Fifteen days later the Presbytery of Dane appointed a collaborating committee.[31] The result of these conferences and plans were duly recorded by the respective Presbyteries in their fall meetings. "On motion," the Dubuque record reads, "the School was received under our Supervision and control and the constitution just read, adopted for its government."[32] The companion action of the Presbytery of Dane was still more succinct, "The Committee in regard to the School of Rev. A. Van Vliet reported a Constitution, which was recd. & adopted is as follows:"[33]

The new school established by this joint action was officially named "The German Theological School of the North West." It was to be conducted for the "glory of God in the preparation of suitable persons for the Christian ministry among the Germans of the Northwest." Although provision was made for "adjacent Presbyteries" of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to participate with equal voice in the control of the school, no other presbytery was ever associated with Dubuque and Dane in its control. A board of directors composed of two ministers and two elders from each Presbytery chosen for a two year term was to have "entire control of the Institution both in its temporal and spiritual affairs...without incurring debt" subject to the will of the Presbyteries. When problems of "doubt or difficulty" beyond the wisdom of the Board of directors arose they had the right of appeal to the presbyte-

ries. One annual meeting and a yearly report were required.[34]

As their final action, the Presbytery of Dubuque elected Rev. A. A. E. Taylor, Elder M. Beach, Rev. Jacob Conzett, and elder John Mosier[35] while the Presbytery of Dane elected Rev. J. Vander Laa, Rev. J. Lieuveld, and elders J. Pitts and R. E. Van der Bie to serve as directors of the school.[36] A new, vigorous, but short period for the German Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest had begun.

If the newly created Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary of the Northwest kept a record of their proceedings, it is apparently not extant. To follow the progress of the school during the period of 1864 to 1870, it is therefore necessary to depend on the records of the presbyteries of Dubuque, the reminiscent writings of former students recorded in Der Presbyterianer and Our German Work, and the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Those records show three important actions were taken during this short seven year period which indicate growth and permanent establishment of the Seminary.

Before the Presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane had assumed control of the Seminary, Godfrey Moery was employed as an instructor of Biblical and Oriental Literature.[37] Moery was not ordained until October 5, 1864,[38] so that he taught for two years while completing his own study which normally would be at the time of his ordination.[39]

In the spring of 1866, the first financial agent for the Seminary was appointed when the presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane upon the request of Adrian Van Vliet gave the trustees authority to employ Rev. W. L. Green, "to make collections..., deducting his traveling expenses."[40] The lack of records fail to show what success Rev. Green had in his new office. If the appointment of succeeding agents for the purpose of raising money is an indication of his success he supplied much needed help for the struggling school.

The third important step is involved with the union of the Old and New School Presbyterian churches in 1869 and 1870.

5.

Union of Old and New School Presbyterian Churches

The sacrifices and sufferings of the Civil War softened many antagonisms between social groups of the North. That the two main branches of the Presbyterian Church should have felt this influence is natural. Then, too, almost a third of a century of time had brought the control of the church under a new generation of ministers and elders who had had no part in the quarrel of 1837. In addition, sharp differences of opinion over theological dogmas and church government were to become less sharp with the growing toleration which was becoming stronger from year to year. Beyond those influences was the concern of all Protestant churches over the lowered national morality in the decade following the Civil War which tended to draw their forces closer together for more effective evangelization. This concern had led to a revival which gathered momentum during the period prior to the Civil War. Although the energy of this religious reform somewhat abated during that internecine conflict some of its former vigor returned during the years in which the reunion plans were rising to their consumation.

Whatever forces prompted reunion the issue was introduced on the floor of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America at St. Louis in 1866.[41] Although dissension developed over the suggestion it was not strong enough to prevent the creation of a committee which reported in favor of union at the next meeting of the Assembly. Through the years from 1866 to 1868 the movement was regularly reported, studied, and with new suggestions referred back to the committee on reunion until May 30, 1868 when the proposal to heal the breach was referred to all the presbyteries of both the Old and New Schools for their approval or rejection.

The following year the two General Assemblies met in a "Reunion Convention" on November 12, 1869, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to form "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, one in organization, one in faith, and one in effort...."[42] Into the hands of this reunited church was placed the direction and control of the German Theological Seminary of the Northwest.

6.

The School Under the General Assembly

When it became apparent to the presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane, and to the Trustees of the German Theological School at Dubuque that the Old and New School Presbyterian churches were going to accomplish their purpose of establishing a single ecclesiastical organization they forwarded an appeal to the joint General Assembly in session at New York in 1869 calling attention to their organization, physical assets, and purposes. This communication was referred to the Standing Committee on the Board of Education. Although that committee made no reference to the school in its annual report for that year[43] they did appoint a sub-committee to investigate the "Theological School for the Germans" located at Dubuque, Iowa. The following year the General Assembly in session at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania took under its care the German Theological School of the Northwest and "The German Theological School of the Presbytery of Newark," New Jersey. Both schools had been organized for the same purpose - the training of German speaking ministers for German congregations. The latter seminary confined its efforts to the East while the school at Dubuque served principally the Upper Mississippi Valley. So far as can be determined no relationship existed between them.

When the General Assembly assumed control of the Dubuque Theological School it imposed upon it certain new conditions. In requiring these changes the Assembly was not unmindful that the German Seminary was different from fully organized Theological Seminaries of the church in that it was not a graduate school but maintained a preparatory department or academy to fit its students for training in Theology. Moreover, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and other subjects were not insisted upon as part of the curriculum because the design was to prepare speedily and efficiently young Germans for the ministry "whose habits may be suited to the social habits of the people" among whom they labor and who shall be "fitted to work among the poorest and most needy" of their countrymen. It was felt that those subjects of "social and aesthetic culture" would "unfit" them for the "plainer habits" of the great numbers of German immigrants whom they wished to reach. But, in order to bring the German people into sympathy with the "American" Presbyterian Church in its "doctrines and usages" instruction in English as well as German was to be given from the "beginning to the end" of the preparation for the ministry.

One cannot help but sense the shades of Pastor Peter Flury in this requirement because he had voiced a similar sentiment in 1847 while a missionary at Dubuque.

As a further condition the Presbytery of Dubuque and the Presbytery of Dane were instructed to elect a Board of eighteen Directors from "their general region" selecting nine ministers and nine laymen from among men well acquainted with and "heartily sympathizing" with the cause of education among the German population. A general solicitation of funds for the school was to be undertaken which was to be considered as a part of the "Five Million Memorial Fund."[44]

According to the changed status of the school the presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane met in Dubuque on July 27, 1870 and drew up a new constitution for the Seminary which they renamed the "German Theological School of the Presbyterian Church of the North West." As newly organized the Seminary was to furnish instruction in "academical, collegiate and theological studies" to "raise up more speedily" young men to preach in the German language to meet the "present emergencies" of that population. The Board of Directors were to have general oversight and control of the school in "temporal and spiritual" matters. They were to be directly responsible to the General Assembly for an annual report and to refer to that body problems which they were unable to solve. A "committee on examination" was to be appointed annually from the Board whose duty was to attend the examination of candidates for graduation and to grant that privilege to those who showed "diligence and a creditable degree of fidelity" in their courses of study. While good business, providence, and frugality was to attend the financial control of the school, for the first time a debt was permitted up to $10,000. Under this plan the Theological School at Dubuque entered upon a new and untried epoch.[45]

The work which it accomplished prior to 1870 and from that date until the present time through changing vicissitudes of control, names, and financial conditions is evidenced by the great number of churches which have been established within the Upper Mississippi Valley and beyond - even to the Pacific Coast.

Chapter 8

EXPANSION OF GERMAN EVANGELIZATION

1.

The Need

The argument of missionaries among the German speaking emigrants on the frontier pointed to the need of evangelical churches conducted in the German language. The tendency of Germans who had been brought up in non-evangelical churches of the Fatherland to drift into formalism and atheism was well understood. The German habit of settling in virtually closed communities practically isolated them from contact with English religious services. Trained German preachers and missionaries were needed to win their confidence and establish religious societies among them. Moreover, many Germans spoke the English language with a noticeable accent. They were painfully aware of their speech idiosyncrasies and were often embarrassed by the poorly concealed smiles and unkind remarks of some Americans.

It was the experience of Peter Flury, J. B. Madoulet, and Adrian Van Vliet of the Dubuque German Evangelical Church that when Germans were organized into churches of their own nationality they were happy in those religious organizations. They gloried in being elected elders, trustees, and deacons. They appreciated the social contact with people of their own kind. They found keen satisfaction in hearing discourses in their native tongue, and if not disciplined too severely, they made good Christians. The pastors of the Kirchenverein des Westens had the same experience with German emigrants.

2.

The Spread of the German Presbyterian Church

The German Evangelical Churches organized by Pastor Flury, C. V. Hess, John Bantly and other missionaries of the American Home Missionary Society adopted the Congregational confession of faith and polity. In 1854, Adrian Van Vliet led the Dubuque Evangelical Church into the Cedar Presbytery and the Synod of Iowa. It was to become

known as the mother German Presbyterian Church of the Upper Mississippi Valley. At a later time, the Platteville and the Hazel Green German Evangelical churches in Wisconsin were to become Presbyterian. As early as December 1, 1845, the Bethlehem German Presbyterian Church was organized at Union, Missouri. It has the distinction of being the first German Presbyterian Church west of the Mississippi River. However, it was to be from Dubuque that the German Presbyterian Church spread in ever widening circles.[1]

Within nine years after Adrian Van Vliet came to Dubuque the German Presbyterian Church had established its beginning in the Upper Mississippi Valley. German congregations were established at Galena, Illinois, in 1854, at Muscatine, Iowa, 1855, at Clayton City, Clayton County, Iowa; and at Fosterburgh and Scales Mound, Illinois, in 1857. In the year 1858, four churches were founded: Dyersville and Independence in Iowa, and Wollam and Owensville in Missouri. The church at Sherrils Mound, Iowa was established in 1859 and the same year another at Muscoda, Wisconsin. One German Presbyterian Church was formed at Franklin Center in Lee County, Iowa, in 1860. During the decade of 1860 to 1870 all the churches founded were in the area formed by Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and Wisconsin with the exception of the Second German Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati, Ohio, the German Presbyterian Church of Winona, Minnesota, and the German Church organized at Riley, Kansas, in 1872. From 1870 to 1879 in addition to the churches founded in the Upper Mississippi Valley states, three were begun in Nebraska: Hickman in 1871, Rosemont in 1878, and Campbell in 1879. In the far West at Bethany, Oregon, a German Presbyterian Church was established in 1873. South Dakota was to be the scene of further Presbyterian Church organization among the Germans during the 1880's. From 1890 down to the present the German Presbyterian Church movement was one of consolidation in the states where churches had already been established except the one church located at Platner, Colorado.[2]

The peak of Presbyterian evangelization of the Germans was reached in the decade of the 1870's. From that period down to the present the extension of German Presbyterian organizations has declined. However, from 1893 to 1910 an intensified missionary activity resulted in an increased number of German Presbyterian Churches.

It was hard for the leaders of the German Presbyterian Church missionary work to realize in the first two decades of the twentieth century that forces were at

work to negate their efforts. Not only was German immigration declining, but also the forces of assimilation in the United States were Americanizing the foreign elements so rapidly that foreign language churches had little or no appeal to them. Moreover, in some communities during the World War antagonism to things German influenced some churches to adopt English services so as to avoid undue criticism. The strength of the German Presbyterian Church after 1910 was to be in the conservative German communities where the mores were strong enough to retard the rapid growth of modern Americanizing influences. Still, in the period marked by declining vigor of the German Presbyterian Church its leaders were to achieve their most brilliant successes by securing a closed synodical unit under their own direction.

3.

Establishing New Churches

Most of the German churches had a very small beginning, sometimes as few as seven forming the first membership. The original membership rarely exceeded fifty. The mother church of the German Presbyterian churches, for example, had thirty-five charter members.[3] The earliest Iowa churches founded by Adrian Van Vliet, those at Lycurgus and Waukon, had sixteen and fifteen members respectively.[4] Two other Iowa churches organized by Van Vliet at a later time were considerably larger: the German Presbyterian Church at Dyersville began with thirty members while the church at Independence contained a congregation of fifty.[5] On May 31, 1877, seven Germans formed a Presbyterian church in a schoolhouse at George, Iowa. Although ten had suggested their willingness to join the church, three "drew back" at the last moment.[6] As late as 1899, a German Presbyterian church was founded at Marion, South Dakota with eleven members.[7] Still more recently, in 1914, ten families formed the nucleus for a German Presbyterian church at Woden, Iowa.[8]

Usually the group forming the church organization was only a small percentage of the German emigrants in that area. It was difficult for the missionary to win their confidence. Joining a church meant restraint at a time when they were beginning to experience the freedom of America. It meant supporting a minister, buying land, and building a church, with money which had to be earned by hard labor. Moreover, many Germans were not especially anxious to embrace an evangelical religion. It asked too much surrender, imposed too heavy discipline, and, for the men, generated too much emotion.

It is more surprising, perhaps, to find so many in the original church organizations instead of so few.

If there were forces opposing German evangelization, there were also powerful influences working for it. In many of the German communities were to be found sincerely religious individuals and families. Sometimes a clique of devoted Christian settlers migrated as a group from Germany. Often German pioneers came from an eastern colony where they had been in contact with or belonged to an evangelical congregation. Having known and enjoyed the religious and cultural influences of such a church group they longed for its experiences again. There is no question about the genuine religious sincerity of the German church member. Yet, it must be observed that social and cultural advantages offered by a church on the frontier, where almost every other institution of organized society was non-existent, excercised a powerful drawing power second only to spiritual satisfaction.

These small German groups clung tenaciously to their religious ideal. It was not unusual for a German family to drive with an ox team ten or twelve miles across the prairie to attend church.[9] In the absence of a church building of their own they often used churches of other denominations. Schoolhouses and private homes were also requisitioned for divine service. Before the church at Riley, Kansas, was organized a loyal band of German Presbyterians held services, under the leadership of two of their own number, "in widely scattered houses or huts and dug-outs."[10]

The missionary zeal of German pastors was also strong. From the beginning of German evangelization in Iowa, Pastor Peter Flury and J. B. Madoulet drove themselves relentlessly to bring the message of religion to their wayward brethern. Adrian Van Vliet showed this zeal to a remarkable extent, being directly responsible for the establishment of twelve German Presbyterian churches in the Upper Mississippi Valley.[11] Ten of the German Presbyterian congregations were founded in Iowa: Muscatine in 1855, Waukon and Lycurgus in 1856, Clayton City in 1857, Dyersville and Independence in 1858, Sherrils Mound in 1859, Franklin in 1860, Ost Friesland Church at Cleves in 1864, and Ackley in 1865. The Galena and Forreston churches were established in Illinois in 1854 and 1864 respectively. This is a remarkable range, covering a one hundred mile radius from Dubuque over which Van Vliet travelled in a horse and buggy. Van Vliet imparted his missionary spirit to his students sending them forth to establish churches throughout the Upper Mississippi Valley. In widening circles

German communities were contacted and congregations organized.

When German emigrants moved into northwest Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota, the ministers of the German Presbyterian churches prevailed upon the Home Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America to send a missionary to work among them. Among the German pastors was a young man who had finished his theological work in 1893 at the German Theological School of the Northwest. He had shown initiative, energy, and ability as a missionary among settlements of his own countrymen during his student days. On recommendation of the Convention of German Presbyterian ministers he was appointed by the Board of Home Missions in 1893, to work among his own people on the frontier. Until 1899, Rev. Drake labored in a mission field which was loosely called "The Northwest." Although he confined his efforts to the northwestern Iowa counties, southern Minnesota, South Dakota, and eastern Nebraska, Drake traveled as far west as Denver, Colorado. During his six years of service in that field Drake covered on the average of eight to ten thousand miles by railroad and three to four thousand miles "with team and buggy" each year. In addition he filled vacant pulpits, preached at mission stations, and was instrumental in founding ten or eleven churches. Seven churches in Iowa are credited to J. E. Drake's missionary work: Sibley Emmanuel Church in 1892, Ashton in 1893, Hope Church of Sibley, Ebenezer Church of Rock Rapids and Zoar Church of George in 1894, the German churches of Woden and Steamboat Rock in 1916 and 1917 respectively. In South Dakota two churches were founded at Salem and Tea in 1897, and one in Ellsworth, Minnesota in 1898.[12]

It was real pioneer work. Most of the emigrants were of the servant class, exceedingly poor, but willing to eke out a living on quarter sections of prairie land. They had come under the influence of the Romantic Revival which in religion had expressed itself in Pietism in Germany and Methodism in England. Unlike the emigrants of the middle forties the later nineteenth century Germans were not antagonistic toward religion. But, like their predecessors, they were scattered far and wide over the open prairie or in small communities. They frequently moved from one place to another. A German missionary had to have patience, fortitude, ingenuity, tact, and perseverance to accomplish his task.[13]

From 1899 to 1902 no missionary was among the German emigrants forging to the frontier in Minnesota and the

Dakotas. In the latter year Rev. Ernest J. Boell, another pastor trained by the Theological School at Dubuque, was commissioned to work in the same area previously served by Drake. His manner of travel was by railroad to the actual field of service and from that point he employed any and every means of transportation available. He walked, used a bicycle, rode a horse, and on occasion had the luxury of a horse and buggy. Rev. Boell estimates that he travelled about fifteen thousand miles a year from one mission station to another. He filled vacant pulpits, held church services in private homes, in schoolhouses, and on the open prairie. He performed marriages and held funeral services. He found time to organize six German churches and to reinvigorate three others. Among the German churches founded by E. J. Boell were two in Iowa at Bristo and Grundy Center in the year 1907. One was organized at Doran, Minnesota, in 1902.[14] After 1907, other missionaries from the German Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest went to the frontier to work among the Germans. Among them were S. G. Manus, J. Swartz, and C. E. Schaible. Although the Convention of German Presbyterian Ministers of the West urged increased missionary activity it appears that the period of successful German evangelization was declining.

4.

Building a Church

When first founded, many of the German churches had no regular meeting place. English speaking congregations graciously offered the temporary use of their churches. Sometimes the schoolhouse was pressed into service. In some cases private homes became the regular places of worship. In larger communities public rooms were rented for weekly meetings. Yet it was the hope of every congregation to build its own church as soon as possible. The cost of even a modest church was almost prohibitive to the poorer classes of German emigrants. But, through tremendous sacrifices and cooperation, it was not long until a little chapel appeared in a community or often at the crossroads of an open prairie.

The first church built by the Dubuque German Evangelical congregation cost them eight hundred and seventy dollars. Of this sum the congregation was able to contribute only four hundred dollars at the time. When Jacob Conzett built the first German Presbyterian church at Sherrils Mound the Session contracted for one hundred perch of cut-stone at the cost of seven hundred dollars. In the winter of 1860 and 1861 the farmers of the congre-

and paid for, pride and joy commensurate with their diligence and sacrifice repaid them well.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America maintained an "Erection Fund" which loaned money to congregations at the current rate of interest with which to build a church. However, the majority of the German Presbyterian Church groups were too independent to borrow from it. The German congregation of Independence, Iowa, was one of the exceptions to the general practice. Frugal as they were, and as modest as most of the first German churches of necessity had to be, sense of responsibility and self-integrity led them in most cases to rely entirely on their own resources.[21]

5.

The German Churches

Although the German Presbyterian Church was conducted in much the same manner as its English counterpart, there were some fundamental differences. A marked difference, for example, existed between the formalized State Church of Germany and the frontier Evangelical Church of America. Evangelical pastors of German speaking congregations insisted on a church letter or evidence of regeneration as the sine qua non of church membership. It is doubtful if all English speaking churches were so strict on this point.

Strict Calvinism frowned on any form of gaiety in the church. In spite of Calvinistic negation, German congregations departed from the narrow discipline to the extent of observing Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter as occasions for the expression of religious joy.[22] Some of the church congregations held picnics on holidays enjoying the outings with all sorts of "amusements and social entertainments." No doubt the pastor and elders saw that they engaged in innocent pastimes only.[23]

If the German church took any part in German community activities the daily press of the period failed to record it. For example, the Dubuque German Presbyterian Church took no part in the city wide revival of 1858. Nor is it cited as one of the influences in the People's Party election victory in Dubuque on April 5, 1858. The German church influence is absent from such events and movements as the German Relief Association concerts, the Germania Band concerts, and the German masked ball for poor relief. When the Sunday School Union of Dubuque held its program in April, 1859, the German church had

no part in its proceedings. Indeed, if the news chronicle is a criterion, the German Presbyterian Church of Dubuque had a chaste and isolated life.

As the German Presbyterian Church in the Upper Mississippi Valley became widespread and stronger a new religio-social event was instituted which strongly appealed to the German's love of social gatherings. This was the Missionsfest. The Missionfeast was observed by the German Lutherans, also. On the appointed day the entire congregation would assemble at the church. Each family brought food enough and more to supply them during the mission festival. Long tables would be set up in the basement of the church, sometimes in a tent, perhaps in the manse, or on the threshing-floor of a neighboring barn. Places were laid for the entire group and the table loaded with good things from the farms. After an interminable grace was intoned, while most of the youngsters grew impatient and many of their elders swallowed excess saliva, all ate to their complete satisfaction. Levity, buffoonery, gossip, and hymn singing accompanied the meal. Yet, throughout there was a sincere religious atmosphere.

Neighborhood clergymen, German as well as English, were always invited to be present. A visiting pastor from the German Theological School of the North West or a neighboring city would be the religious leader. Services were held in the morning, in the afternoon, and in the evening. A season of song preceded the sermon. The Germans loved to sing and such hymns as Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott and Heilig, Heilig, Heilig swelled in volume and melody to fill the church and echo through the town or across the prairie. Long evangelical sermons were delivered exhorting the listners to lead an exemplary Christian life and give out of their means for the support of missionary work. Long solemn prayers sobered the congregation. The whole festival ended with an outpouring of gifts for missionary endeavor. Then, while the benediction still hung like a cloak about them, the cheering ring of aufwiedersehn was called from group to group as they turned toward their own homesteads. Missionsfests were held in towns and cities as well as in the country churches. However, the restraining influence of sophistication in larger communities restrained the full outpouring of the spirit which was witnessed in rural communities and isolated country churches.

A list of offerings from some of the German Churches indicates that the religious enthusiasm engendered in the mission festivals resulted in material gifts far beyond

the normal capacity of the German congregations to contribute:

1902	Church	Mission Offering
May 28	Prairie Dell Church, Harper, Illinois	$218.00
June 5	Ashton, Iowa	70.00
June 11	Holland, Iowa	246.71
June 11	Zoar Church, George, Iowa	122.00
June 15	Germania, Iowa	70.00
June 17	Marion Church, Boscobel, Wisconsin	38.00
June 18	Eastfriesland Church, Cleves, Iowa	378.66
June 18	Forreston, Illinois	350.00
June 19	Carnarvon, Iowa	147.00
June 24	Westfriesland Church, Ackley, Iowa	226.00
June 25	Rock Rapids, Iowa	95.00
June 26	Lyon County Church, George, Iowa	133.00
June 29	Chancellor, South Dakota	275.00
July 6	Bethany, Oregon	121.05[24]

In most of the German churches the men and boys occupied one side of the church and the women and girls the other. No benches[25] were rented nor was there any preference shown to any person or class in seating the congregation. The Germans were very jealous of this arrangement and any attempt to alter it was liable to be an unpleasant experience. Such an incident occured in the German Presbyterian Church of Dubuque about 1868. When Der Presbyterianer office was transferred from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Dubuque, Iowa, two of the German employees came to Dubuque at the same time. They showed some surprise that the Dubuque church still maintained the practice of separating the sexes at religious services. When the elders of the Dubuque German Presbyterian Church were informed that eastern German churches permitted the sexes to sit where they pleased at religious meetings the idea pleased them. It was arranged at a meeting of the Session that the congregation should sit by families. But the mistake was made when it was announced from the pulpit that the "benches" chosen by each family on the following Sunday would be their permanent location at succeeding meetings.

On the next Sunday morning some of the congregation selected pews to their liking. They claimed them for their own and talked of bringing cushions to ease the tiresomeness of long services. That was "fire on the

roof" which soon spread over the entire church. The disgruntled charged that the "rich and important" had the benches while the poor could stand in the aisles, "sit in the corner" or stay away altogether. Van Vliet, the minister, was distraught. He used all his tact and religious persuasion to heal the breach, but to no avail. Some transferred their membership from the German to the English Church while others left the congregation completely. Only a fraction of the members remained to rebuild the congregation while the "Devil was laughing in his fist!"[26]

German ministers preached pointed sermons. They did not deal in theological abstractions nor exegetical niceties. Church doctrine, religious catechism, and the Decalogue were woven into sermons to provide a sounding board for direct attacks on the sins of the congregation. If the minister discovered that any member was guilty of "sin" he was certain to preach a strong sermon on that religious vagary to warn the erring one of his Christian duty. Some German ministers were not reticent about pointing an accusing finger at the listener he was exhorting. In one instance a member of a German Church, a cobbler, solicited business on Sundays in the church yard. He took measures for boots and shoes to be delivered on some future Sunday. The minister did not like the practice so he preached a sermon on "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God."[27] But the cobbler was "hard-shelled" - he measured his clients a "little farther from the church."

It was difficult to win the Germans away from their wedding celebrations. Mitmachen, to some at least, was as essential as the marriage ceremony. Jacob Conzett attempted to lead one of his congregations away from the practice and was congratulating himself on his success. On a Friday he married a couple at Centertown (Centralia), according to the best Christian traditions. When he appeared for services on the following Sunday the church was locked. At the home of the bride he saw a large number of wagons and on approaching the house he could hear a "peculiar pounding noise." The bride's father answered the preacher's knock. The good pastor was amazed to find that his recent church member was "totally drunk." Through the door Conzett could see that a dance was in progress enlivened by freely flowing "schnäpschen." Although a cordial invitation was extended to the preacher to join in the celebration he returned home "full of sorrow and illy pleased." Shortly thereafter he was "dismissed from that congregation."[28]

In spite of such incidents the majority of the Germans made excellent church members. Many of the congregations were model communities of pious Christians who took their religion more seriously than their English speaking brethern. A significant circumstance determining the character of a church was the proportion of German emigrants which became members of it. If the congregation included a majority of Germans in the settlement a unity of purpose and solidarity of religious idealism dominated the entire community. On the other hand, if the church members were in a minority, their piety suffered from the patterns of action, habits, and customs of the secular majority.

Chapter 9

THE GERMAN CHURCH ORGANIZES

1.

The Convention

Adrian Van Vliet was the founder of German Presbyterianism in the West and the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West. At the same time he was a missionary, a pastor, and a teacher. But above all these, he was known to his students as "Father" Van Vliet. After students had finished their work at Dubuque, and had gone into the field as pastors, they returned to visit their former teacher and the school. During such periodical visitations the German pastors discussed their common problems, exchanged experiences, and received inspiration from Van Vliet for their difficult work. Since their meetings usually were held prior to the synodical meeting in June, it was natural for the growing group to form an organization.

Although the first organization occurred in 1859, it was not until June 13, 1862, when Adrian Van Vliet was chosen moderator of der Konvention deutscher Presbyter des Westens that it emerged as a distinct ecclesiastical unit.[1] Thirteen preachers and two elders were present at that meeting. From 1862 down to the present, der Konvention has met at least once and sometimes twice each year. However, it was not until August 10, 1868, that a formal incorporation of "The German Presbyterian Convention of Ministers and Elders in the West" was effected. The avowed object of the Convention was the "propagation, dissemination, and promulgation" of the gospel. The Bible and the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America were to be their religious guides. They also intended to rely on publications in newspapers, books, pamphlets, tracts in any form in the "English, German, and Holland" languages although those in German were preferred. Der Konvention grew in size and importance with the spread of the German Presbyterian Church in the Upper Mississippi Valley although the two did not follow parallel lines of development. For example, the peak of the German Presbyterian Church's spread was reached in the 1870's while

the German Convention did not achieve its fullest growth until 1927, with the total attendance of eighty-nine preachers and elders.[2]

The apparent discrepancy between the spread of the German church and the Convention of German ministers and elders can be explained by the fact that many of the ministers in the last decades of the nineteenth century served a field or circuit of two to three churches. With the influx of German emigrants, the churches grew into larger congregations, each having its own pastor. Also, in recent decades a larger proportion of ministers and elders attended the Convention meetings. Moreover, travel became easier with extended railroad service and the increase of automobiles. In addition, the tendency of the German language to fall in disuse in many of the German churches created a paradoxical determination to conserve the German Presbyterian Church as a distinct unit. Finally, they desired to hold fast to, and enlarge the work at the Theological Seminary which Adrian Van Vliet had founded.

The Konvention deutscher Presbyter des Westens was an extra-ecclesiastical organization. It had no standing as an official body with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. It was not associated with the Synod of Iowa nor with the synod of any other state. Neither did it have any official relationship with any regularly constituted presbytery of the Presbyterian Church. While the German ministers convention lacked the support and influence of official Presbyterian organizations it had the advantage of being unhampered in any way by their authority. It was to become a great influence and power among the German Presbyterian churches of the West.

The Pastors of the Convention sensing the need of some instrument to hold the German Presbyterian community together and at the same time widen its influence among non-evangelized Germans established a religious weekly newspaper, Der Presbyterianer. The first issue appeared in October, 1867. The first five numbers were published at West Manchester, Pennsylvania. For about eighteen months after March, 1868, it was printed and published at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Beginning with October 1, 1869, it was transferred to Dubuque, Iowa, where it has been published to the present time.[3] Although Der Presbyterianer was devoted originally to religious matters it soon became an instrument for raising funds to support the Seminary.

A second publication was instituted in 1892. It was a Kalender für Deutsche Presbyterische Gemeinden in der Vereingten Staaten auf das Jahr unseres Herrn 1892. The Kalender was in fact an almanac recording after each day of the month its religious significance. The daily rising and setting of the sun and the moon were listed. Bible readings in keeping with the religious event to be solemnized were cited for each day. At the bottom of every other page was printed a couplet or a quatrain of some sprichwort. For example, below "November" is recorded:

Eine Kleine Kirche sei jedes Haus:
Nichts Böses sei d'rin, gutes komm'deraus.

The foreword of the 1892 Kalender presented it to the "German Presbyterian Congregations" which comprised the Konvention as a messenger carrying the story of Jesus Christ. Although there was some hope to include German congregations of other denominations in its distribution, insufficient funds were available for such a widespread project.

In each yearly issue of the Kalender was found a statistical table of the German Presbyterian churches served by the pastors of der Konvention. The table included vital statistics of the respective churches and a list of funds collected. Later volumes contained a list of the pastors of der Konvention, their homes, and the church which each one served. The remainder of the Kalender was given over to historical sketches of individual churches, didactic stories, biographies of past and present Presbyterian leaders, and occasionally poetry and humor. It is a storehouse of information. After 1912 some political observations and cartoons crept in but at no time did they disclose any unpatriotic sentiment toward the United States.[4]

The German Presbyterian pastors saw their publishing enterprises expand and flourish. Although they paid their money to secular establishments for printing, it was contrary to their frugal nature. Consequently, on January 30, 1897, the Western Publishing Company was incorporated to print, bind, and distribute their publications. Stock was sold to the members of der Konvention to finance the project. Suitable quarters were secured. Presses, type, a stock of paper, and other materials were collected. On September 1, 1913, the name of the corporation was changed to the Dubuque Presbyterian Press. Under the same title it was reincorporated on May 1, 1933. From its formation to the present time it has been a pro-

fitable organization.[5]

Still a third publication was Der Sabbathschul Freund.[6] It was begun in 1862 by John E. F. Schmidt von der Launitz, a German Presbyterian preacher, who began to "edit, set and print" a small German Sunday School paper. This little paper not only helped Pastor Launitz eke out a precarious living but it immediately became popular among the German Protestant churches. It filled a long felt need. In 1896, Rev. J. F. Mueller and Rev. E. J. Boell purchased Der Sabbathschul Freund and published it as a private venture until they resold it to the Convention in 1900.[7]

The next publication, the fourth, was added when the Board of Publication of the Presbyterian Church presented to der Konvention the Sonntagschul Lektionsheft und Blatt. This German Sunday School lesson leaflet was composed of two double sheets and contained remarks on the Sunday School lesson. Der Konvention added a German quarterly after the fashion of the English Protestant Sunday School quarterlies. Although these four publications represented a formidable array for any restricted denominational organization it was not yet complete.[8]

Two song books were issued to complete the list of German church and Sunday School aids: a Gesangbuch für deutsche Gemeinden, including Psalms and holy songs, copyrighted in 1901, had a wide distribution among all German Protestant sects. The hymnal was edited and compiled by a committee of der Konvention but was not printed by their own publishing house, although they own the plates. Later the Gute Botschaft, Eine Liedersammlung for Sunday School, young people's meetings, student groups, and home prayer meetings was issued. Many of the songs in the Gute Botschaft are popular hymns translated from the English by German preachers. Some of the others were written and the music composed by pastors of German churches. Printed, bound, and distributed by their own Western Publishing Company in 1911, the Gute Botschaft is indeed a unique contribution.[9]

Gradually the German Presbyterian Church congregations became Anglicized through the process of assimilation and by the rising generation of American born German children. Since many of the younger generation could not read or write the German language a need was felt for a "medium of information and devotion" in the English language. On November 6, 1923, the first issue of the Presbyterian Messenger was printed. This paper has not met the response which der Konvention had hoped it would

2.

The Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon

In spite of the splendid organization which the German Presbyterian pastors had in der Konvention deutscher Presbyter des Westens they looked forward to having German presbyteries and a German synod within the structure of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. There were several reasons for this hope. In the first place, the Convention had no standing in the legal structure of the Presbyterian organization. In the second place, their problems were peculiar to their own language group, many of which did not concern the church at large. Finally, in the English presbyteries and synods to which German churches belonged all discussions were held in the English language. Although the German ministers were able to understand the discussion they were loath to venture an opinion or argue a point which had to be expressed in English highly colored with a German accent and at times expressed after the peculiar fashion of German sentence structure. The elders of the German Presbyterian churches were in a worse plight - many of them could neither understand nor speak the English language. Moreover, it is the accepted theory, for which no documentory evidence exists, that some of the administrators of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West encouraged the movement toward separate German presbyteries in order to control more financial support of the school. In that matter, as events turned out, they were disappointed.

Now, it is a part of the division of powers in the organization of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America that presbyteries may be erected by a synod within its own bounds. But only the General Assembly of the Church has the power to erect a new synod and then only out of three or more legally established presbyteries. Therefore, if the Germans were to have their own synod they had to have three German presbyteries.[11]

The movement for separation was initiated at the twenty-fifty annual meeting of the Synod of Iowa held at Vinton, October 16-18, 1906. At that time, der Konvention petitioned the Synod to consider the erection of separate German presbyteries. A committee composed of Rev. Cornelius M. Steffens, Elder John Rath, and Rev. J. F. Hinkhouse was appointed by the Convention.[12] One year later, on October 17, 1907, the joint committee made its report through Chairman C. M. Steffens, at the Synodical meeting at Sac City, Iowa.

The burden of Steffens' argument for separate presbyteries was to enlarge the efforts for "evangelization of the German people in this state." This was to be accomplished by the "Development of laymen" and the unification of churches along "German methods and ideals." Moreover, Steffens insisted that separate German presbyteries would result in a better supervision of needy missionary fields and clearer knowledge of benevolent and statistical progress of the German churches. Also, special care and control of students studying for the ministry under their care could be maintained. German churches of "kindred spirit" could be brought together in semi-annual meetings. Delegates sent to the annual Synodical meetings would have representation on its boards which would strengthen the German churches. Since the presbyteries of the English churches had taken favorable action, Steffens declared, and since the congregations of the German churches had acted favorably on the proposed change, if the Iowa Synod of the Presbyterian Church refused the petition it would be guilty of a "cowardly" act. The Synod, following the recommendation of the committee, appointed a group of seven with power to organize the German churches into "one or two separate presbyteries." This commission on German presbyteries was composed of "three German and three American" members with the moderator of the Synod as chairman.[13]

Little time was lost by the Commission in attempting to fulfill its function. They met on Tuesday, November 19, 1907, in the First Presbyterian Church of Waterloo, Iowa. For three hours the members of the commission discussed the problem before them: how to organize the German churches scattered from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Bethany, Oregon, into one or two presbyteries. It was a hard problem in geography for even religious leaders to solve. Nevertheless the seven commission members unanimously supported the recommendation that "one German Presbytery" be erected in the Synod to be known as the "Presbytery of Van Vliet" in honor of the "founder of the German Theological School at Dubuque." Unfortunately the action of the Commission on German Presbyteries was stillborn.[14]

Meanwhile, der Konvention deutscher Presbyter des Westens, through the Synod of Minnesota, went over the heads of the Synodical authorities to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. In 1907, the Convention petitioned that body to erect three German Presbyteries and a German Synod to be known as the Synod of the West. While the action of German Convention appears to be contrary to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church it was in fact in order

because the German churches involved cut across synodical lines. Those churches were to be found in the Synods of Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. Since in some synods there were insufficient German churches to form a Presbytery it was necessary to unite the German church groups in two or more synods to form a legal presbytery of seven churches. No synod had the power to erect a presbytery cutting across synodical lines; accordingly, the only authority which could act was the General Assembly. However, in 1907, the General Assembly took refuge in narrow constitutional provisions reporting that the synods had the power to erect presbyteries and are the "judges of the propriety" as to when it should be done. After the sufficient number of presbyteries had been created an appeal could be made to the Assembly for an "Enabling Act" to organize a Synod.[15]

But der Konvention was not discouraged. The following year, in 1908, they again placed before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America a petition praying for the erection of a German Synod of the West. Forty-four ministers and fifty-four churches representing German speaking congregations in the states of Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin signed the appeal. They asked for the creation of the Synod on the basis of three German Presbyteries cutting across state lines to be known as the Presbyteries of "Galena, George, and Waukon." The General Assembly responded favorably. The Presbytery of Galena was erected to comprise the German ministers and churches in the Synods of Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Indiana, and Ohio. The Presbytery of Waukon was to include the German ministers and churches in the Synods of "Iowa and Minnesota east of the seventeenth meridian from Washington." And the Presbytery of George was organized to include the German ministers and churches in the Synods of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado.

3.

Struggle for the German Synod of the West

The General Assembly refused to go beyond the erection of the three presbyteries in 1908. Still, hope was held for the creation of a German Synod of the West. After the three designated presbyteries were organized it was provided that they should be "connected with and under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Iowa," but under the direct care of the Board of Home Missions. In the

meantime a committee was to be established by the Iowa Synod to study the needs of the German Presbyterians and report to the next General Assembly.[16] In the fall of the same year the Synod of Iowa appointed the committee provided for by the General Assembly. It was to study the Home Missionary work of the German churches and the "whole question of work among foreign populations," and report to the General Assembly in 1909.[17]

The leader of the committee was C. M. Steffens. Under the date of November 6, 1908, he sent a letter to a number of representative Presbyterian Church leaders asking: "Do you think it practical to have the German Presbyteries as now organized to take the further step for the organization of a Synod?" Three other questions inquired: was it wise to keep the German churches under the Board of Home Missions? Or, did it seem to be more advisable for the English Synods in whose bounds the German Presbyteries lay to form a commission having supervision over "all immigrant work"? Should a superintendent be appointed by the General Assembly, whose office would be in a "centrally located city West of the Mississippi River"?[18]

The preponderance of opinion expressed by the recipients of Steffen's letters was in opposition to the creation of a German Synod of the West. Reverend J. C. Robinson was opposed to the steps already taken by the General Assembly in creating the German presbyteries. He believed the creation of a Synod would be "divisive" and tend to "alienation" and ultimately lead to a "separate" German Presbyterian Church. The German speaking church, observed William McKibbin prophetically, was a "transient" condition in which English would eventually become the accepted language. To attempt to perpetuate an ephemeral condition would be a false move. The stated clerk of the Synod of Minnesota was opposed to "perpetuating race distinction." C. T. Edwards opposed the German presbyteries and a German synod for financial reasons. He failed to see how German ministers on their wretchedly small salaries could afford to attend semi-annual meetings in a "preposterous" Presbytery which stretched from Milwaukee to St. Louis, or how it would be possible to find a German Elder who could go. While Edward T. Swiggett was opposed to the German Synod of the West, he was willing to see a national German Synod created. John B. Hill was not opposed to the practical results to be obtained from a separate German Synod but was opposed to the principle of separating German Presbyterian churches into a group which might develop into a separate denomination. It is possible that those who vigorously opposed

the German Synod of the West had in mind the Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens which formed a separate body distinct from the English Lutheran Church.

Two of the correspondents favored a German Synod of the West: John B. Hill, Superintendent of Home Missions in Missouri, and Charles Stelzle, Superintendent of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. These two men wielded a powerful influence. Missouri was one of the most important home mission fields under the General Assembly. The Home Mission Board was composed of ministers and elders from all parts of the United States who had to follow the leadership and advice of their superintendent in all matters concerning which they did not have intimate knowledge. In the influence of Hill and Stelzle, C. M. Steffens was holding the key to the situation and probably realized it.[19]

Moreover, when the Iowa Synodical Committee made its report on the question of Home Missionary work among the Germans it reflected the study and correspondence of C. M. Steffens but was written in the style of W. O. Ruston, Dean of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest. The committee pointed out that the most important national problem was the assimilation of the foreign emigrants. In that success lay the future "prosperity and preservation" of the nation. Likewise, the future of the church rested on the successful evangelization of the foreign element in America. In spite of difficulties the problem had its bright side because the closed alien communities in the United States offered an excellent opportunity for their salvation, presented a challenge to the church, and reemphasized the "divine call of the church" to teach all nations. The report saw in the Assembly's creation of three German presbyteries a step toward the solution of the problem which could be consummated through the erection of a German Synod.

Cleverly the case was built. First, the census reports were cited to show the increased influx of foreigners into the United States and the growing numbers of foreign speaking Americans born of alien parents. In the second place, the Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon were analyzed to show their relative strength to the whole German Presbyterian Church in America and to the German Presbyterian Churches in the West.[20] It should be noted that in the tables "A," "B," and "C" the German churches of the Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon were included in the total German churches and also in the German churches in the West. Certainly,

the committee was aware of the more favorable light in which it placed the German Presbyteries which were seeking to be welded into the German Synod of the West.

Table A
Strength of the German Churches in America and the Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon

	Total	East	West	3 German Presbyteries
Churches	151	58	93	54
Pastors	165	63	102	45
Elders	424	177	247	138
Deacons	342	147	195	113
Communicants added on examination	1,280	876	404	180
Total Communicants	14,674	8,279	6,395	3,379
Total Sunday School Members	16,699	9,912	6,787	3,215
Baptisms	1,722	1,141	581	366

The above statistics show the strength of the German presbyteries indicating the vitality of the German Presbyterian movement in the West as compared to that of the East. This growth in a period of sixty years was attributed almost entirely to German missionaries and preachers trained in the theological school established by Adrian Van Vliet.

In a second tabulation the contributions of the German Presbyterian churches in the United States were examined to prove that the German Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon were paying their share toward the financial support of the whole church.

Table B
Gifts by the German churches to eight Boards

Cause	Total	East	West	3 German Presbyteries
Home Missions	$ 7,347	$ 2,852	$ 4,495	$ 2,466
Foreign Missions	6,440	3,134	3,306	1,945
Education	3,761	1,633	2,128	1,534
Sunday School Work	956	405	551	360
Church Erection	2,002	504	1,498	1,316
Relief	1,028	376	652	422
Freedmen	723	266	457	317
Colleges	3,707	431	3,276	2,427
Total	25,964	9,601	16,363	10,767
Congregational	280,644	[illegible],184	67,460	40,321
Miscellaneous	14,665	12,586	2,079	1,375

The last tabulation offered by W. O. Ruston in the committee's report reveals the "per member" contributions in representative areas of Presbyterian charities. (See Table "C" on pages 96 and 97.) The statistics of table "C" show that the German Presbyterian churches in the three newly created presbyteries were exceedingly liberal in their religious charities in spite of their poverty. In one instance, gifts to the eight Boards of the church, their per member average is higher than the entire Presbyterian Church. In two other areas, Home Missions and congregational support, their gifts, although lower than the entire Presbyterian church per member contribution, are higher than the other two divisions of German churches. Their support per member for miscellaneous causes is low, but not the lowest. This is explained by the tendency of the German churches in the West to support few side interests such as societies for women and young people. Most German ministers did not encourage such organizations and some were opposed to them as detractors from genuine religion. The committee carefully pointed out that money raised for the support of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West and local German missionary work was not reported to the General Assembly. No doubt the crux of the whole argument was the fact that even though the Board of Home Missions of the General Assembly gave the three German presbyteries $3,215.00, they returned all but $769.00 through gifts to the same Board. Logically then, if a German Synod of the West should be created it would be almost self-supporting.

In addition, the report recorded that the German ministers were the most self-sacrificing religious workers in the whole Presbyterian church. The highest annual salary paid a German pastor in the West was one thousand dollars, while many received only four or five hundred dollars for each year's work. All spent many hours teaching the catechism. Some conducted schools in the German language for the children of the congregation. One German preacher reported that he had traveled over "four thousand miles" in one year making pastoral calls. It was frankly admitted that the weakest part of their religious program was lack of adequate Sunday School work. This lack of religious training the German pastors "hoped to improve within the year."

The future of German evangelization, the Committee challenged, was not in the East where the church was aware of the congestion of aliens in large urban centers but in the Dakotas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Texas, Oklahoma, and the coast states to which the recent emigrants were

Table

Contributions per Presbyterian

Home Missions

Bodies	Churches	Members	Total	Per Member
Pres. Church at Large	10,017	1,300,329	$1,485,626	$1.14
3 German Presbyteries	54	3,379	2,446	.72
Western German Church	93	6,395	4,495	.70
Eastern German Church	58	8,279	2,852	.34
All German Churches	151	14,674	7,347	.50

C

Member to Four
Church Funds

8 Boards jointly		Congregational		Miscellaneous	
Total	Per Member	Total	Per Member	Total	Per Member
$3,927,371	$3.02	$16,230,716	$12.48	$1,699,312	$1.30
10,767	3.16	40,321	11.93	1,357	.41
16,363	2.56	67,460	10.55	2,079	.33
9,601	1.16	213,184	25.76	12,586	1.52
25,964	1.77	280,644	19.13	14,665	1.00

going. That stream of migration was being swelled by Germans from the middle western states who were going west in search of cheaper land on the vanishing frontier. German Presbyterianism in the Upper Mississippi Valley, however, was not to have the vitality to follow the German migration into parts of the United States far from the Mississippi Valley.

Finally, the case presented to the General Assembly argued that the German church for lack of proper organization and power lost many missions to other denominations. Also, American born children of German Presbyterians, as well as the foreign born Germans who became moderately affluent were constant feeders to English Presbyterian congregations. The charge that German Presbyterians were disloyal to American principles of loyalty and patriotism was warmly denied. The question of Americanization, the Committee admitted, was closely allied to evangelization. After we have "thoroughly Christianized" them, it was argued, "we will develop a loyalty to the American constitution and to the American spirit of the highest type;" the German who loves the "Flag of Liberty and National Unity." Logically, the report appealed to the General Assembly to create a German Synod of the West out of the Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon.[21]

As powerful as was the appeal of Steffens' committee to the General Assembly it did not include all of the arguments nor some of the most potent ones. In the German Presbyterian Church organizations, elders were both interested and influential officers. Nothing gave them more personal pleasure in their religious life, nothing afforded them more strength to aid the struggling German Presbyterian communities, than to attend presbyterial and synodical meetings as regular representatives. Moreover, they took a keen interest in the work so far as their facility to understand and use the English language permitted them. There was the obstacle. In German presbyteries which had been erected in 1908, they could talk, argue, agree, and plan. But in the American dominated Synod they were forced to be silent. So long as German speaking Presbyterian communities existed the need for a German Synod was genuine, but the time was to come when the sons of elders knew no German and the problem arose in reverse.

Another significant argument was voiced in a short, unpublished manuscript of C. M. Steffens. It posed a nice question of polity to which there was no constitutional answer. The Presbyteries of Galena, Waukon, and George cut across Synodical jurisdictions. Yet these

presbyteries were Synodical orphans. For example, what synod had authority over the Presbytery of Galena which extended over all or parts of the Synods of Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Ohio? To be sure, it was under the direct control of the Board of Home Missions but this did not answer questions of polity, certification of Presbyterial minutes, adjudication of questions of orthodoxy, licensing and ordination of ministers, and other problems constantly referred from the lower jurisdiction to the higher in the "federal" type of Presbyterian "democracy." Perhaps this was the most important consideration in the minds of the Board of Home Missions when it finally made its recommendation to the General Assembly to erect a German Synod of the West.[22]

Although the Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon petitioned the General Assembly again in 1909, to erect a German Synod of the West, the battle was not won until 1912. The committee to which the appeal was referred was "most sympathetic" for the interests of the German people, but it could not overlook the fact that only fifty-four churches of the ninety-three in the West were connected with the German presbyteries. Some of the new German ecclesiastical organizations preferred to remain in the English presbyteries and synods because they were opposed to separation on the basis of "nationalities and languages." Moreover, the committee feared that the tremendous extent of the proposed Synod would render it an unwieldy unit in which its jurisdiction and influence would fall into the hands of a "few men." In addition, the committee was of the opinion that the division of nationalities into separate judicatories should not be "encouraged or extended" but that the foreigners in the Presbyterian Church should maintain as close relations as possible with "American membership of the Church" familiarizing themselves with the "spirit and ideals of American Presbyterianism." Therefore, the General Assembly deemed it inexpedient to grant the prayer of the presbyteries for a separate Synod but recommended them to the respective synods in which the largest number of their churches were found.[23]

Between 1909 and 1912, a great amount of influence must have been exercised on the leaders of the Presbyterian Church by C. M. Steffens and W. O. Ruston of the German Theological School of the Northwest although no evidence to support that belief can be found. Yet, when the General Assembly met for its one hundred twenty-fourth convention at Louisville, Kentucky, the German Synod of the West was erected, to consist of the Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon. Its boundaries were to be

coextensive with the boundaries of the three presbyteries. The newly created Synod was instructed to meet in the "Eden Church, Nora Springs, Iowa, August 14, 1912, at 7:30 P.M." under the Moderatorship of Daniel Grieder.[24] From that time on, the Synod of the West has been an ecclesiastical judicatory of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

According to the statistical report presented to the General Assembly in 1913, the German Synod of the West contained sixty-one ordained ministers, one licentiate, and twenty-five candidates for the ministry. Seventy-two of the ninety-three churches in the West had become associated with one or the other of the three Presbyteries. In the Synod of Iowa at the same time there were three hundred forty-seven ordained pastors, seventy-nine candidates for the ministry, and three hundred and fifty-two churches. The above figures do not include the Bohemian Presbytery and Foreign Missions in Iowa. By comparison the German Synod of the West was a small organization.[25]

With the German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest as a center of interest, the homogeniety of an all German organization, and a sincere desire to serve the interests of the church the German Synod of the West initiated its work. The first assembly was held in the Eden German Presbyterian Church at Nora Springs, Iowa, on August 14, 1912, at seven-thirty in the evening. Daniel Grieder preached the opening sermon and constituted the Synod with prayer. He was elected the first Moderator according to the act passed by the General Assembly.[26]

For the next twenty-five years the German Synod of the West prospered as well as the American synods in the Presbyterian Church. The table below shows its condition for five consecutive five year periods:

Growth of the German Synod of the West
for 5 year periods 1912-1936

Year	Ministers	Candidates	Churches	Members	Added	Lost	Sunday School Scholars
1912	60	28	70	4237	266	...	4539
1916	73	24	78	4972	332	358	5712
1921	64	25	72	5374	472	...	5463
1926	66	21	69	6032	597	323	7040
1931	63	8	66	6018	395	295	6048
1936	68	6	62	6263	337	257	7304[27]

4.

Denouement

After a quarter of a century, changes had taken place in the annual meetings of the Synod of the West. At least one half of the business transacted in the annual convention was in the English language. Among the new generation of elders there were many who neither spoke nor understood the German language. The Stated Clerk was compelled to translate English reports into German and the entire report back into English. In many of the churches the congregations had become Anglicized to the degree that often both Sunday services were conducted in the English language. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Presbytery of George, in the convention of the Synod of the West in 1935, proposed to print all transactions in the "English language for our churches," because not all the business was conducted in the "German language." At the same time, the Presbytery of Galena proposed that because a number of "our churches now use the English language exclusively" the church entertaining the convention of the Synod has the right to choose the language which the Synod shall use in its meetings. The next day both overtures were adopted.[28]

For all intents and purposes of this study, the above actions close the history of the German Presbyterian Church in the Upper Mississippi Valley. While some churches in the German Synod of the West continue one service in the German language on Sunday, the tendency has been to substitute the English language entirely. The purpose for which German evangelization was begun no longer existed. The need of German presbyteries and a German Synod based on linguistic differences had past. However, a community of interest engendered over a period of almost four decades binds the Synod of the West with its Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon closely together. The German traditions constitute its uniqueness. The Theological Seminary at Dubuque supplies a common purpose. Conservative Calvinistic Theology is the cornerstone of its belief. So long as it serves a useful purpose the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America will continue its existence.

Chapter 10

THE GERMAN PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF THE NORTH WEST

1.

Troubled Growth and Expansion

For almost two decades, Adrian Van Vliet labored at Dubuque as missionary, preacher, and teacher. Tuberculosis, which he had contracted earlier in life, gradually undermined his strength. He died on May 9, 1871. For almost a year prior to his death, Van Vliet was forced to give up his regular duties. After he became bedfast, and it was clearly apparent that his life would soon end, the Board of Directors of the German Presbyterian School of the North West met to choose his successor. Two members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, Rev. J. Berk and Elder L. Knackstedt, presented the name of Rev. Jacob Conzett.[1] Although other nominations were offered Conzett was elected Professor of Theology of the school. He was later chosen pastor of the Dubuque German Presbyterian Church to succeed Adrian Van Vliet.

Jacob Conzett was born in Schiers, Canton Graubünden, Switzerland on January 17, 1834. At the age of twelve, he migrated with his parents to America. They landed at New Orleans and travelled up the Mississippi to Galena. On March 9, 1847, the Conzett family crossed the Mississippi River and established their home in Dubuque. After many experiences in that growing River town, Jacob Conzett was influenced by Adrian Van Vliet to study for the ministry. He finished his theology training in 1858. After a successful ministry in the Iowa settlements of Independence and Sherrils Mound, Conzett was called to the head of the German Seminary in Dubuque.[2]

At that time, and down to the beginning of the present century, the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West did not have a president to determine its policy and solve its problems. Ultimate authority was vested in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The corporate control was a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees origin-

ally elected by the Presbyteries of Dubuque, Iowa, and Dane, Wisconsin.[3] Although the Board of Directors met only once each year, an Executive Committee elected from its own body had continuous oversight over the school. To the Executive Committee, to the Board of Directors, and to the General Assembly the Faculty of the Dubuque German Seminary was individually and collectively responsible. The Professor of Theology was usually chosen to be chairman of the faculty and reported to the Board of Directors at the end of each school year. If the Professor of Theology and Chairman of the Faculty was a man of strong personality and character he was head of the institution in substance if not in name. However, a man of less determined leadership leaned more heavily on the Board of Directors than on his own prerogatives. Jacob Conzett belonged to the former category.

The work for which Conzett was chosen was not easy to perform. Van Vliet had thoroughly stamped his mind, character, and personality upon the school and the Dubuque German congregation. His successor would have to win the confidence and support of the students and of the church members. But Conzett was not a man of great tact or winning adroitness. His manner was direct. His dominating personality bent circumstances to his will or broke them in the process. When matters failed to prosper in the molding he attributed his failure to his enemies.

A characteristic of some German ministers must be made clear at this point. Most of them were individualists born of hard frontier conditions. They could and would cooperate with one another on a basis of equality. But if one of their number was elevated to a position of leadership and responsibility, jealousy would take hold of a portion of the remainder. While this is not as true today as it was in the nineteenth century, it still operates as an important influence among German pastors. So, to his other problems, Conzett had to add disloyalty among his own colleagues.

With the coming of Jacob Conzett to the Professorship of Theology in the German Presbyterian School of the North West a new dispensation began. Conzett recognized that if the School were to live it had to be put on an equal basis with other seminaries. However, Godfrey Moery, Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature, did not agree with Conzett's plan. Moery believed that the School should be moved into the country. There the student body would be employed half of each day operating a farm, devoting the other half-day to study.

Such a plan would have made the Seminary a self-sustaining unit. Many Germans favored Moery's plan. But Conzett did not. An estrangement followed and Moery left his teaching position for a number of years. But the head of the school carried on.

In order to realize his ambition for the Seminary, Jacob Conzett needed money. By the summer of 1871, he won the Board of Trustees to his plan and "ordered" the Executive Committee to elect a financial agent. The committee complied and engaged Rev. Jacob Liesveld.[4] Conzett and Liesveld hoped to raise ten thousand dollars in notes payable with ten per cent interest in ten yearly installments. The principal was to be conserved for endowment while the interest was to be used for current expenses. At first Conzett and Liesveld went together to German and American congregations seeking pledges for aid. As soon as Liesveld became experienced in the art of money raising he worked alone. All went well at first. Pledges came in readily. Members of the Dubuque German Presbyterian Church promised to pay $2103.00. Other churches subscribing large amounts were: Franklin Center, Iowa, $1850; Sherrils Mound, Iowa, $935; and Platteville, Wisconsin, $630. Nineteen other congregations scattered through Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota pledged an additional $5518. The school held a total of $10,379 in good notes at the close of 1871. Yet, the campaign was to go on until 1878 in an ever widening geographic area. Apparently the German Presbyterian Theological School at Dubuque was entering upon prosperous days.[5]

But trouble was brewing. Jacob Liesveld became the target of abusing critics. It was a "scandal" that he received so much "salary." Liesveld resigned under the attack. One of his leading critics was engaged but proved to be a failure at raising money although he had the temerity to demand the same salary Liesveld had been paid. The truth of the matter was, charity for the German Seminary had been exploited to the limit in the Dubuque area. When the time came to collect the first pledged payments "hostile pastors stirred the people up." It was a "scandal" they declared, to have to pay interest on your own money. They made a "spectacle" and caused such a "hell of a noise, Hoellenlärm," that many subscribers refused to pay their notes. The financial program was crippled. Only about one-half the value of the total pledges and contracted interest was ever collected.[6]

In spite of his multiplying detractors Conzett pushed forward. In Dubuque, on the north side of Seven-

teenth Street, opposite the junction of Iowa and Seventeenth Streets, stood a large, commodious, brick building. The lot was purchased on May 20, 1853, from W. W. Corielli and his wife, Charlotte, by the Congregational Church through the financial aid of Catherine Beecher, sister of Henry Ward Beecher.[7] A building was erected on the property the same year by the "Dubuque Female College Corporation" with about fifteen thousand dollars of borrowed money. The Corporation expected to realize the principal and added profit from the Female Seminary. Unfortunately, small patronage and low income caused the school to fail. The District (School) Township of the City of Dubuque, in 1859, acquired the building in which to educate children in grades higher than the eighth grade who were of "unusual ability." However, due to delinquent taxes during the panic years following 1857, the City of Dubuque was unable to finance the project. Consequently, the building and property reverted to the creditors who had a claim of seven thousand five hundred dollars against it.[8] About that time, the Episcopal Diocese of Iowa, under the leadership of Bishop Henry Washington Lee, was searching for a suitable place in which to establish a Female Seminary. Such towns as Lyons, Keokuk, and Des Moines were being considered. The Dubuque Female College Corporation held a mass meeting on July 21, 1863, in Globe Hall to arouse community interest in the Bishop Lee Seminary. Success crowned their efforts. On November 9, 1863, the trustees of Griswold College purchased the building. Bishop Lee Seminary was opened May 2, the following spring. About thirty-five pupils attended the school yearly during its operation by the Episcopal Church. So small an enrollment doomed it to fail as had the two previous educational ventures in that property. So it happened, that in 1871, the school was for sale again.[9]

When Jacob Conzett learned that the Episcopal Church was going to sell the building, he knew that a great opportunity lay before the school. The German Theological School of the North West had grown to eighteen students. They taxed the two small dormitories to the limit. The only classrooms available were in the basement of the Blue Church. The Bishop Lee property would answer the German Seminary's need for years if money to purchase it could be found. Some of the German pastors and congregations were hostile to Conzett's policies, but he was not easily turned aside. He appealed to the German ministers and congregations for financial help, explaining the opportunity and the problem which it created. This netted him three thousand dollars advance payment on previous pledges to the school. He appealed to some of the citizens

of Dubuque and was rewarded with gifts amounting to five hundred dollars. Emboldened by his initial successes, Conzett took the problem to the Executive Committee of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West. They had faith enough in him and the future of the Theological Seminary to make the Episcopal Church an offer of ten thousand dollars for the building. There matters rested for some time, but not Conzett's mind.

There was some fear that the expanding Dubuque Catholic Diocese with ample financial resources would make the Episcopalians a better offer than the Germans could afford. To avert such a possibility, Conzett prevailed upon some Dubuque business men to inform Bishop Lee that inasmuch as the building had been built with Protestant money, it should remain in Protestant hands.

In the middle of February, 1872, Bishop Lee and the Rector of Dubuque St. John's Episcopal Church made their way through a deep snow to Jacob Conzett's apartment which was in the basement of the German Presbyterian Church. The Episcopal Diocese of Iowa had decided to sell the Seminary building to the German Presbyterians, they informed Conzett, for the sum offered by the Executive Committee. The terms demanded were fifty-five hundred dollars in cash and fifty-four hundred dollars in two years. By six o'clock the same evening they wanted a definite answer, but a month would be given to close the deal. Hastily, the Executive Committee of the Trustees was called together and the problem presented to them. They decided to accept the Bishop's terms but asked Conzett to raise the money.

Now Conzett lacked two thousand dollars to close the deal. Where to get that much ready money was a real problem in 1872, yet the fifteenth of March steadily approached. When the time had almost run out, John Steiner, who was in the "sweet-cookie and toy" business, met Conzett on the streets of Dubuque and offered to lend him the needed two thousand dollars for six months. In due time the money was secured and on March 15, 1872, the property was purchased.[10]

The Episcopal Church had no deed. No official record can be found of their purchase of the property from the City of Dubuque. Two courses were open to secure a good title: by a city wide election or by court action. The latter method was chosen to avoid a possible defeat at the polls by an adverse Catholic vote. Before the end of June, 1872, juridical action was filed quieting the title to the property in favor of the German Presbyterian

Theological School of the North West.[11] This building was to be the home of the school for thirty-five years.

The lot of Jacob Conzett and the school was hard for the next six years. The purchase of the building increased the antagonism of Conzett's enemies and they were determined to drive him from the school. They incited his church elders against him until he resigned his pastorate. Inasmuch as this was his principal income it seemed that he was defeated, but fortunately, he secured the pastorate of the Galena German Presbyterian Church and with it economic security from 1876 to 1878.[12] In the latter year the Board of Trustees voted him a salary of one thousand dollars a year to enable him to devote his full time to the school. His detractors created distrust in the mind of his assistant teacher until he resigned. The students were poisoned against Conzett until all but two left Dubuque to go to other seminaries. It appeared as though the end had come. Only the Board of Trustees retained their faith in him and encouraged him to go on. 1876 was the critical year. In 1877 seven students enrolled. Each year the number increased until in 1881 there were twenty-five in attendance. In the meantime, the misunderstanding was healed between Conzett and Godfrey Moery who returned to teach in the school. In 1881, Conzett stood vindicated. The school was out of debt. It had its largest enrollment up to that time. His enemies were defeated, but not appeased. With the knowledge that he had won the admiration of his church, the community, and the Board of Trustees, Jacob Conzett resigned as Professor of Theology in the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West to return to Pastoral work. In that capacity he served at Beloit, Wisconsin, Chicago, Illinois, and Cincinnati, Ohio, until he retired from the ministry.[13]

The curriculum in the Theological School during Jacob Conzett's control was broader than it had been under Adrian Van Vliet, yet, in the light of modern educational programs it was narrow and limited. William A. Brakel's Redlicker Godsdienst in the Dutch language was the textbook in theology. A German grammar and reader by J. P. Dessar, McClintock's Latin Grammar and Second Book in Latin, Bezas Latin Testament and Greek Grammar, and the Greek New Testament furnished the foundation in languages. For English instruction Pinneo's English Grammar and Willson's Readers "especially the 4th and 5th volumes" were used. Warren's Geography and Ray's Arithmetic completed the list of textbooks and courses. Candidates for the ministry received "Primary or Preparatory" training as well as instruction in a "secondary

department" to prepare them for theological courses. The entire period of instruction was limited to five years.[14]

The first catalog, which is not extant, was printed in 1873. For that school year (1873-1874) the institution's expenses were $3,398.75. The teaching staff was miserably paid. The Professor of Theology received three hundred dollars each year. Twice that amount was paid to the Professor of Biblical Literature, while the tutor in geography and mathematics received an annual stipend of three hundred dollars. All of them augmented their income by preaching either as supplies where the opportunity arose or as regular pastors of a German Church.

Although the Board of Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America continued to aid from six to eight students annually with appropriations up to one hundred and fifty dollars each, the school's largest income was from gifts. Financial agents canvassed the German Presbyterian congregations for donations in money and kind. But the churches were too poor to help the struggling school appreciably. The Seminary's library, which contained eight hundred and seventy-four volumes in 1874, depended for its growth on books contributed by friends. It is apparent that the German Presbyterian Theological School at Dubuque had a marginal existence.[15]

2.

Two Decades of Slow Growth

According to the annual reports submitted to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church the school at Dubuque maintained a very slow growth until the turn of the century.[16] For example in 1880, there were three full time professors and thirty students. Although the instructors were paid a better salary than in former years, the total operating cost of the school, including food and fuel bills, was five thousand dollars. To the curriculum and the burden of the teachers had been added Hebrew, General History, Church History, and elocution. No degrees were granted although academy, college, and theological departments were maintained.[17]

Little change took place in school during the decade from 1880 to 1891. There were at the latter date four professors and thirty-three students. The curriculum had changed only to the extent of adding Homiletics and increasing the hours of instruction in German, Latin, Hebrew,

and Greek. The operating costs of the Seminary had increased to a little over seventy-five hundred dollars. The added cost was due almost exclusively to higher salaries paid to the instructors, although the average salary paid to each professor was still under nine hundred dollars a year.[18]

While the theological position of the school was noted for its strict Calvinism it conserved its position still better when a "Formula of Subscription" was adopted in 1891. Each incoming professor had to solemnly and "ex animo adopt, receive, and subscribe" to the Confession of Faith and Catechism of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Moreover, the inducted instructor agreed not to "inculcate, teach, or insinuate" anything contrary to the Confession of Faith or Catechism. There is no record that this subscription was ever repealed so far as it applies to the Theological Seminary.

The Board of Directors, in 1901, authorized the Executive Committee to secure a financial secretary when "convenient." Although such an official had beem more or less regularly a part of the administration of the school since 1864, the action taken in 1901 by the Executive Committee was to be momentous for the German Theological School at Dubuque. The man they chose was Rev. Cornelius M. Steffens.

Cornelius M. Steffens was born in Germany in 1864. He migrated to America with his parents at the age of four. His father, Rev. Nicholas M. Steffens, engaged in missionary work among the Germans in German Valley, Illinois, and among the Michigan Dutch at Zeeland and Holland. He was engaged at Dubuque at two different times to teach Theology. At each of the places his father was employed Cornelius came in contact with a different class of people as well as a different foreign language or dialect.

After finishing his public school education at Hope College and the Western Theological Seminary, both of which are located in Holland, Michigan, C. M. Steffens held two pastorates. First, the Dutch Reformed Church of Rochester, New York, and then a church of the same denomination at Little Falls, New Jersey. Both congregations found him to be a gifted speaker, a careful organizer, and a financier able to eliminate a church debt and to leave a balance in the treasury. By reason of his Calvinistic training, his association with Dutch and German religious work, and his ability to win financial support for religious projects, Cornelius M. Steffens

appeared to the Executive Committee to be the logical person to employ. Steffens' association with the German Presbyterian Theological School at Dubuque, while his father was Professor of Theology, had made a strong appeal to him.[19]

When the new financial secretary began his work at Dubuque on February 1, 1902, he found an institution free of debt, with an invested capital - including the school property - of a little more than fifty-six thousand dollars. Twenty-four students were studying in various classes taught by two part-time and three full time professors. The total number of classroom hours taught each week was sixty-eight. All instructors were trained to be ministers, three of whom had secured their work at the German Presbyterian Theological School in which they were teaching.

All the students were studying for the ministry. The instruction, so far as the subject matter lent itself and the ability of the teacher permitted, was in the German language; the remainder was in English. Located on a high knoll, set apart from the remainder of the town, the building stood alone. Few people outside of the German Presbyterian Church knew or understood the character of work being done in the Seminary. It was a part of, yet separate from, the flow of life in the City of Dubuque. The school was peculiarly the product of Adrian Van Vliet, Jacob Conzett, and the Convention of German Presbyterian Ministers and Elders in the West. Conservative in theology, limited in pedagogical practices, satisfied with the work which they believed God ordained and guided, the Faculty, Board of Directors, Executive Committee, and students were content to pursue the even tenor of their ways into the future. They were to have an awakening.

3.

The New Dispensation[20]

From the first of February, 1902, to the last of April, 1903, Cornelius M. Steffens studied, planned, and worked. There was little tangible evidence to show that he had more than usual ability as a financial secretary. Nevertheless, he presented a long report, couched in rhetorical flourishes and padded with words of praise for the German ministers of the West and the Seminary's work. Imbedded in his remarks were the revolutionary suggestions to enlarge the curriculum and to increase the faculty to six full-time professorships. Although

the Executive Committee responded: "Blessed is the Conservatism... 'Owe no man anything but to love one another'" was a good rule for the individual and even better for an institution, the Board of Trustees under the guidance of a "Special Committee" put Steffens' suggestions into effect.

During the school year 1903-1904, C. M. Steffens' efforts to raise money were successful. The net total was $22,705.73. Over sixteen thousand dollars had been added to the permanent investment fund. This was indeed a "New Era" and the financial secretary seized upon it to launch a new and untried program of physical and educational expansion. Several circumstances converged at this time to give Steffens a powerful argument in favor of an enlarged program.

In the first place, the financial secretary's phenomenal success in securing funds and his promise of an increased flow of wealth to the school gave him prestige and authority to speak as a leader of the Seminary. A second consideration was the dilapidated condition of the building on Seventeenth Street which housed the Seminary. For more than thirty years, with only minor repairs, it had been the home of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West. The time had come when it was necessary to spend about eight thousand dollars to rehibilitate it or construct a new building. The Executive Committee had conveniently found that the old building was difficult to heat and "altogether uncomfortable." Moreover, since they had discovered that many things necessary to the "health and comfort" of the students could not be provided in the old Seminary, their thoughts and recommendations turned to erecting an entirely new school house.

Still a third incident imposed an unsettling influence on the school. The City of La Crosse, Wisconsin, offered the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West forty acres of land within the city limits together with seventy-thousand dollars in money on the condition that a "college for general education" conducted in the English language be opened immediately at that city.[21] Attached to the college, but as a distinct unit, was to be a Seminary for German ministerial training. A fourth influence was the 1903 recommendations of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. In the Assembly's annual convention the seminaries of the Church were urged to train evangelists, to establish courses in the English Bible, to carry on an intensive solicitation for ministerial candidates, and to give a more thorough

training in missions so as to secure laborers for home and foreign fields of evangelization. More seminaries were urged to follow the example of the theological schools at Newark, New Jersey, and Dubuque, Iowa, in training preachers who could disseminate the gospel in foreign tongues. All of the seminaries under the care of the Presbyterian Church were urged to unify their standards for granting the Bachelor of Divinity degree.[22]

Finally, Cornelius M. Steffens argued that philanthropists who were likely to make large contributions to the Seminary at Dubuque would not be interested in a school which had the single, narrow objective of training German ministers, which offered a limited educational program and which had a student body under thirty students.

No doubt the Board of Trustees of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West looked into a future of change and expansion with mingled emotions. They hesitated to change the character of the institution which had been doing pioneer work in a unique field for over half a century. Moreover, they knew full well that the peculiar influence of Adrian Van Vliet and Jacob Conzett would be lost in an enlarged program. On the other hand, what logical argument against expansion, growth, and change could be offered except that which was based on sentiment and feeling? Without a doubt, for some of the conservative members of the Board of Directors, that argument was sufficient.

But the Financial Secretary of the school had many of the characteristics of an astute politician. In private conversations, in subtle hints planted in the minds of the more progressive board members, in his own winning personality, and in the force of circumstances, he had prepared the way for his plans, and when the first steps succeeded the flush of victory which followed insured the adoption of the entire program.

Before the Seminary opened for the fall semester of 1904-1905, a number of far reaching decisions had been made. The invitation to relocate the Seminary at La Crosse, Wisconsin, had been decisively rejected. For the first time in the history of the school a president was elected and clothed with power to administer the program of education.[23] An architect was engaged to draw plans for a new building, and the financial secretary was empowered to solicit funds with which to buy land and construct the projected home of the school. In addition to the necessary money for constructing a new

building an endowment fund of one hundred thousand dollars was projected. This amount the financial secretary was asked to secure in order to provide an income for the enlarged work. Steffens, recognizing the value of publicity, kept the press of Dubuque well informed of all plans as they were approved by the Board of Directors.[24]

In the spring of 1905, the long established Collegiate department was endowed with a separate academic existence and authority was given to award Bachelor of Arts degrees to those who finished the prescribed course in that year and thereafter. Although the academy was to remain for sometime only a preparatory course for college and seminary it was in due time to be organized into a regular four year secondary school.

Events moved rapidly after the initial steps had been taken. A six acre plot of land located in West Dubuque on one of the highest knolls in the city was purchased in 1905. In the early spring of the following year the corner stone was laid amid religious ceremonies and by fall of 1907 the professors and students took up their work in the new building. Jacob Conzett and many of the older German ministers who had graduated from the seminary must have had a troubled conscience when the old Seventeenth Street building was sold to the Catholic Church. A top price of twenty thousand dollars which the Catholics paid might have eased their conscience somewhat![25]

The reluctance of some Board members to support the ambitious program completed in 1907 was dispelled by Steffens' ability to secure money. He had won access to individuals of large income and interested them in making donations to a cause which they knew only through his own enthusiastic salesmanship. Among those who aided by gifts from one to twenty-five thousand dollars were: Andrew Carnegie, John A. Converse of Philadelphia, D. K. Pearson of Chicago, Mrs. William Thaw, F. W. Lynnett of Philadelphia, F. H. Weyerhaeuser of St. Paul, Mrs. N. F. McCormick of Chicago, Louis H. Severance of Cleveland, and others less well known.[26]

But the work was only begun. Frank H. Peters, a St. Louis shoe manufacturer, gave money for a chapel and a large Commons. Nettie Fowler McCormick, wife of the Chicago Harvester Manufacturer, built a modern gymnasium. A dormitory was completely paid for by Louis H. Severance. Money was raised for a central heating plant, an athletic field and a number of houses for professors' homes. Not

to be outdone, largely through their own internal organization and effort, the German-speaking churches of the West raised the money with which to build and partly endow a new seminary building. All this was accomplished, with the exception of building the present seminary, between 1907 and 1917.[27] The value of the real property held on March 30, 1918, was $487,550.43. In addition, almost three hundred thousand dollars was invested in interest-bearing endowment funds.

During the same period the student body had grown from twenty-four to two hundred and ninety-eight. Twenty-four professors and six instructors were engaged to teach in the Academy, the College, and the Seminary. The salary account for the year ending July 31, 1917, was almost twenty-six thousand dollars while the entire operating budget totaled $137,020.94. It was a thriving institution.

3.

Changing Character of the School

No institution could pass through the physical and financial expansion which the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West experienced without having its character, if not its purpose, affected. Such a change did take place. There were forces working within the school which effected apparently little, but none the less, significant changes. Superimposed upon the institution by Cornelius M. Steffens, were changes more significant than those generated by its own natural development.

From 1852, when Adrian Van Vliet took the first two young men into his study to train them for the ministry, the definite purpose of the Seminary had been to train German-speaking ministers to work among the emigrants of their own race. Until 1906, that objective had remained the single guiding principle of the school. In that year, a local Dubuque newspaper could report that the purpose of the school was to prepare "German young men to minister to German congregations."[28] The articles of incorporation which were in force in 1906 stated the object of the Theological School at Dubuque to be the instruction and training of young men in "a course of mathematical, classical, scientific, literary, and theological studies" to prepare them to preach in the "German Language."[29]

In the beginning of the school, all instruction had

been in the German language. This was not only a necessity but an ideal. Not until 1870, when the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America took the German Theological Seminary at Dubuque under its control was English instruction introduced.[30] When the curriculum was broadened to include Latin, Greek, mathematics, and geography, the instruction was forced to become bilingual. William O. Ruston, who became a part-time teacher in 1894, was the first instructor who was entirely "English," being unable to teach in the German language. It was a significant step away from the German tradition when Ruston was elected to the Presidency of the school on April 27, 1904. The growing importance of English in the work of the school was further emphasized in 1906 when an instructor in English was employed. The interest of students in the study of the English language grew rapidly until a complete department of English instruction was incorporated into the curriculum. This led one of the German professors in 1911 to lament the fact that the atmosphere of the school was becoming English to the detriment of the German tradition and the purpose for which the school had been established.

By 1914, the instruction was primarily in the English language, although the school was still considered to be bilingual in character. The German professors carried on much of their social conversation in the German tongue. Chapel services were held predominantly in that language. The German tradition persisted because the large Dubuque German population tended to preserve the best elements of that culture. For example, there was held on November 12, 1908, in the Grand Opera House of Dubuque a German-Day celebration under the auspices of the German Presbyterian Seminary, the Dubuque Sängerbund, and Manger's Violin Choir. Mayor H. A. Schunk was the master of ceremonies. A brief history of "Die Deutschen in Amerika" was reviewed by Senator A. F. Frudden. Professor W. C. Laube of the Seminary discussed "Deutsche Kulturarbeit in Amerika."[31] Again, on February 7, 1910, Professor Laube and Professor Paul August Walz presented, with accompanying music, Schiller's William Tell in the original German. All parts were played by students from the German Department of the Theological School. The German population of Dubuque filled the auditorium and listened with keen satisfaction to the performance.[32] It was the custom for a German Theatrical Company from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to produce at least one play a year in Dubuque.[33] Thus, while in many American communities the German influence was passing away, Dubuque still nurtured the traditions and culture brought into America

by emigrants from the Fatherland.

However, during the World War, German culture was gradually eclipsed. After America joined the allied cause, German courses, as well as German language passed from the German Presbyterian Theological School of Dubuque. Although German was to be replaced after the war was concluded, its place and influence in the school was to be purely academic.

A second change in the character of the Theological Seminary at Dubuque was to be its emphasis on Americanization. Although American patriotism was always a part of its program, until after 1905 it was limited to German students. After that year the scope of Americanization was widened to include many other foreign groups. The first departure from the usual program was the election of Alois Barta to the Professorship of Bohemian Language and Literature.[34] This was a step to secure the support of the Bohemian Presbytery of the West and resulted in attracting a small but continuous flow of Slavic students to Dubuque. In the second decade of the present century, the diversity of nationalities multiplied. Three separate classifications of students according to race will show to what degree the spread took place. In 1907, seventy-two students who enrolled in the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West were distributed as follows:

High German	14
Americans	4
Low German	42
Bohemian	10
Mexican	2

Seven years later the diversity of nationalities to be found on the Dubuque campus was considerably greater. The one hundred eighty-two students were divided into twenty-five national groups:

Germans	97
Hungarians	2
Slovacs	1
Hebrews	8
Bohemians	21
Russians	2
Cubans	1
Puerto Ricans	1
Mexicans	8
Hollanders	7
Swiss	3

Danish	1
Armenians	3
Americans	14
Canadian	1
Galician	1
Serbian	1
Chaldean	1
Bulgarian	3
Croatian	1
Persian	1
Greek	1
Monacoan	1
Swedish	1
Spanish	1

Although the distribution of the three hundred forty-six students in 1919 is on a different basis, it still shows the large number of different linguistic groups in the student body:

Americans	177
Germans	4
German-Americans	65
Bohemians	13
Hungarians	26
Slovenians	16
Austrians	2
Spanish	1
Spanish-Americans	7
Mexicans	7
Puerto Ricans	2
Colombians	2
Syrians	2
Persians	2
Dutch	4
Italians	2
Swiss	1
Ukranians	3
Armenians	1
Korean	3
Jews	5
Negro	1

From each of the above classifications it is evident that the German element dominated the foreign language group and justified the term "German" in the name of the institution.

It is not surprising that it was reported to the Board of Directors that each student was forced to recite in the speech of his nativity until he could learn

sufficient English to express himself in a common language. The school became known as a "polyglot" institution and was widely advertised as such. The President[35] of the school at Dubuque in his money-raising endeavors capitalized on the Christianization of foreigners to make America safe from dangerous anti-Christian foreign influences and to unite the world in Christian fellowship.[36]

In a third way the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West changed in character. Before the rapidly increasing student body had reached one hundred there was voiced a desire to enter into intercollegiate athletic contests with other colleges in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Although the Board of Directors favored intramural sports, some members of the faculty gave the students sufficient support to win the reluctant consent of the Trustees to play the leading American college sport.

In 1911 women were admitted to the school for the first time. This was a difficult step for the Board of Directors to take, permitting the innovation after a year's study of the question. Although by 1913 only five women students were enrolled for study the time was to come when they outnumbered the men in the institution.

After a thorough investigation of the school in Dubuque by H. C. Dorcas during the academic year 1914-1915, it was placed on the list of schools accredited by the State University of Iowa. This was a status much hoped for and thoroughly appreciated by everyone interested in the school. Finally, the series of names which the Board of Directors gave the school was significant of the more fundamental changes which were taking place in its changing objectives and organization. The first innovation was to name the separate college department created in 1905 the German Presbyterian College. This in no way affected the Seminary which still retained its original titel. Six years later the school was renamed by giving a specific title to each separate unit. The secondary school was to be known as Dubuque Academy and the college received the name of Dubuque German College. By common usage the name was shortened to Dubuque College. Unwilling to alter radically the name of the Theological School the only change was to substitute the term "Seminary" for the word "School."

Unfruitful litigation with a Catholic institution in Dubuque which adopted the name "Dubuque College" led the Board of Directors to adopt a new title for the school. In 1918, Dubuque University was selected. This avoided

confusion with the Catholic school and at the same time, in the period of United States conflict with the Central Powers, eliminated the embarrassing word German. Although the name was more ambitious than the school could justify at the time, there was just hope that it would be able to reach the full dignity of the name in the future. Yet the matter was not settled. Four years later, in 1920, the present name, University of Dubuque, was formally adopted.

4.

The Influence of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West

What constitutes the direct influence of an institution can be indicated by facts and figures, but the penumbra of its cultural shadow is more difficult to evaluate. Yet, without a doubt, beyond the immediate circle in which the German Theological School at Dubuque operated, its existence and work affected the whole Presbyterian Church as well as the religious attitudes of thousands of individuals.

There was to flow out of the school established by Adrian Van Vliet a slow but constant stream of men devoted to the ideal of Christianizing the German emigrant population in the Upper Mississippi Valley. By 1859, a sufficiently large number had gone into the field to form the German Presbyterian Convention of Ministers and Elders in the West. As the number of German pastors increased and their organization became stronger, a number of publications were established. Der Presbyterianer, Der Sabbatschul-Freund, the Sonntagschul-Lektionsheft und Blatt, and Der Kalender für Presbyterische Gemeinden were unique and important publications which went into practically every home which had religious connections with the German Presbyterian Church in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Moreover, they were used by the German Congregational Church, the Missouri (German) Lutheran Synod, and other German Protestant groups. The same is true of the two German song books: Güte Botschaft and Gesangbuch für deutsche Gemeinden.[37]

More than one hundred and fifty churches were established by ministers trained in the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West. Most of the German Presbyterian Churches were concentrated in the five states of the Upper Mississippi Valley but the remainder covered an area from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Bethany, Oregon, and from South Dakota to the State of Kansas.[38]

With the consent of The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America the German churches organized in 1907 into the Presbyteries of Galena, George, and Waukon. Five years later the General Assembly erected the German Synod of the West out of the three German Presbyteries.[39] This organization had then had almost four decades of religious service to the German populations within its synodical jurisdiction. In 1936, seventy churches of the German Synod of the West with a membership of more than six thousand were still carrying on religious work.[40]

The majority of the ministers who served the German Presbyterian Churches of the Convention and the German Synod of the West received their training at Dubuque. At least two German Presbyterian churches in Iowa: Grundy Center and Ackley, and the Emmanuel German Presbyterian Church of Marion, South Dakota, have had all their pastors from the Dubuque Presbyterian Seminary.[41]

Many of the graduates of the Presbyterian Seminary at Dubuque have found pastorates outside of the German Synod of the West and the Convention of German Presbyterian Ministers and Elders in the West. At the beginning of the fourth decade of the twentieth century, a survey of those located in English synods showed that of one hundred and eighty-five living graduates 58.9% were located in the Upper Mississippi Valley states. The remainder were widely distributed in twenty-four other states, five foreign countries, and two possessions of the United States. It is interesting to note that eleven of them were located in the states of the Old South.[42]

The Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Dubuque became "anglicized" more rapidly than the German Synod of the West. Those who graduated from the institution while the German tradition was still strong preserved the foreign language churches intact until the 1930's.[43] Even though English was to become the vehicle of teaching and preaching, the German Synod of the West still considered the Dubuque Seminary peculiarly their own. It was one of the intangible ties which bound the two institutions together when other reasons for their mutual responsibility gradually disappeared.

Chapter 11

CONCLUSION

The German Presbyterian Church had a reason to come into being in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Among the thousands of Germans migrating to Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and Wisconsin were many who felt the need of spiritual guidance. Moreover, the Germans had left their native culture to enter into a civilization which was strange and foreign. There was a real danger that in the difficult process of orientation they would be influenced by forces dangerous to their happiness and to the security of America. This danger was sensed by Iowa Missionaries William Salter, Ephriam Adams, Julius A. Reed, and other members of the Iowa Band.[1] They expressed their uneasiness in the terms of theological training and experience. To them atheism, indifference, and rationalism constituted causes of genuine apprehension. Insofar as the American Home Missionaries understood the problem, they were right. But it was broader than religion, it encompassed the whole cultural foundations of America. To the degree that the German Presbyterian Church answered that need it justified its existence.

Only a small portion of the German emigrant population of the Upper Mississippi Valley was brought under the direct influence of the German Presbyterian Church. For example, in 1920, there were over seventy-thousand foreign born Germans in Iowa alone. In the same year there were only 5261 foreign born and American born Germans in the seventy-one churches of the German Synod of the West.[2] Other denominations, among which were the Missouri Lutheran Synod, the German Congregational Church, to some extent, the Methodists, and the Roman Catholic Church, helped to bring the Germans of the Upper Mississippi Valley under religious influences.[3]

Even though the actual membership in the German Presbyterian Church was small in comparison with the German population in the Upper Mississippi Valley there was an immeasurable, intangible influence exerted upon all Germans who came from areas dominated by Calvinistic doctrines. Among them were Swiss from the German Cantons, Hollanders from the province of Brabant, Frieslanders, and Germans from the south of Germany.

Although limited in size, the German Presbyterian Church has made some significant contributions to American culture. Its evangelization was thorough. Regeneration was insisted upon as the first prerequisite to church membership. The parish children were intensely drilled in church doctrine and government to prepare them for induction into church fellowship. It is doubtful if any Protestant sect, with the exception of the Missouri Lutheran Synod, was so serious in its religious beliefs and practices.[4]

Moreover, German Presbyterianism was an Americanizing factor. No where in the ecclesiastical literature can be found a suggestion of criticism against American institutions. Although emphasis upon evangelization preceded that on Americanization, the former was consciously recognized as a means to attain the latter.[5] It is true that some leaders in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America feared that a separate German Synod would lead to a distinct religious denomination founded on ethnical separatism; those fears proved to be false.[6]

In addition, the polity of the Presbyterian Church is representative democracy. Members of German congregations voted for and were elected elders, deacons, and trustees. They chose and were chosen representatives to presbyterial, synodical, and General Assembly conventions. Many of them had a practical course in the elements of American political practices before they became naturalized citizens. Until 1907 and 1912, when German presbyteries and a German Synod were erected respectively, representatives from German churches attended ecclesiastical meetings where only English was spoken. The one exception was the German Convention of Presbyterian Ministers and Elders in the West. Competence in understanding and using the English language probably contributed to the Americanizing process.

In the third place, Presbyterianism among the Germans took root on the Upper Mississippi Valley frontier. As the frontier receded westward missions and churches were founded in new German settlements.[7] More often than not, those small congregations and their pastors were the only institutions influencing community social intercourse and culture. It is important that that influence was Christian.

Then, too, the Presbyterian Church brought to the Germans a fund of culture which had been developed over a period of three centuries. From the beginning Calvinism insisted on an educated ministry. That tradition

was carried on among the German population in the Upper Mississippi Valley through the German Presbyterian Theological School at Dubuque. So far as its facilities afforded, candidates for the ministry were trained in classical German and Theology. When an enlarged program became possible through increased financial support cultural courses were added to the curriculum in order to give ministerial candidates a broad culture.[8] This was significant because German Presbyterian churches drew most of their votaries from the servant class of emigrants.

The ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the Upper Mississippi Valley were generically American. Although Peter Flury, Jean Baptiste Madoulet, and Adrian Van Vliet were European-born and trained, they are the exceptions.[9] Young men were attracted to the ministry from the population served by the German Presbyterian churches. A few were born in Europe but migrated to America in their youth.[10] The majority were American born.

Finally, the German Presbyterian Church in the Upper Mississippi Valley is one more thread in the web of American culture. It has made a contribution which is measurable in part only. Together with other religious and educational movements it has added something to evolving American culture.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Chapter 1

[1]John Wyclif (?-1384), an Oxford trained cleric who revolted against some of the claims of the church and who began to preach to the common people. His followers, the Lollards, were persecuted after the death of Wyclif's patron, John of Gaunt. A standard work on Wyclif is: Herbert B. Workman, John Wyclif, A Study of the English Medieval Church, 2 Vol., Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936.

John Huss (1369-1415) a Bohemian patriot and religious reformer, burned at the stake on charge of heresy. Johann Loserth, Hus and Wyclif, Prag: F. Tempsky. 1884.

Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522), a German scholar and humanist who, against the opposition of the church, succeeded in introducing the teaching of Hebrew into German schools. For a full account of Reuchlin's life and work see: Ludwig Geiger, Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben and sein Werke, Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1871.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), a Dutch Scholar, writer, humanist, and critic of the church. An excellent appraisal of his life is found in: Preserved Smith, Erasmus, A Study of His Life, Ideals and Place in History, New York: Harper and Brothers.

[2]Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, p. 68.

[3]John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1936, Vol. I, p. vi, quoted from William Cunningham, The Reformers.

[4]Walker, op. cit., p. 394.

[5]Martin Butzer (Bucer), German Protestant Reformer (1491-1551).

[6]Ibid., p. 292.

[7]A. W. Ward, et. al., Ed., "The Reformation," The Cambridge Modern History, New York: Macmillan, 1934, Vol. II, p. 676.

[8]Ibid., p. 295, "Calvin, writing on February 24, 1558...says that he has been told by good authority that there were 300,000 Protestants in France."

[9]Lefferts A. Loetscher, A Brief History of the Presbyterians, Philadelphia: Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1938; p. 18.

[10]Charles Hodge, The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in United States of America, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1851, Part I, pp. 14-15.

[11]Ward, op. cit., p. 572.

[12]Ramsay Muir, British History, New York: World Book Company, 1930, p. 195.

[13]Ibid., p. 195.

[14]Walker, op. cit., p. 458.

[15]William Thompson Hansche, The Presbyterians, Philadelphia: the Westminster Press, 1934, p. 49.

[16]Loetscher, op. cit., p. 30.

Chapter 2

[1]William Thompson Hansche, The Presbyterians, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1934, p. 57.

[2]Charles Hodge, The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in United States of America, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1851, Part I, p. 19.

[3]The exact date--1705 or 1706--of the first Presbytery of Philadelphia is in doubt due to the fact that the first sheet of the minutes is lost; the first date which appears is that of 1706. There is reason to believe that a previous meeting, in which formal organization was effected, took place in 1705.

[4]Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (1706-1788), Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841, p. vi. The Records published in 1841 are not in numbered volumes. Future citations will be to the "Records" and the date following the citation will indicate the volume referred to.

[5]Charles Augustus Briggs, American Presbyterianism, Its Origin and Early History, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885, p. 116-118. Francis McKemie's name is found in various spellings: Makemie, Mackemie, and McKemie. The spelling found in the Records of the Presbyterian Church is used in this treatise.

[6]Ibid., pp. 152-155; Governor Cornbury is identified in English History as Sir Edward Hyde.

[7]Records, (1706-1788), op. cit., p. vi; p. 9.

[8]Ibid., pp. 10-13, passim.

[9]Ibid., p. 20n.

[10]Briggs, op. cit., Frontispiece, "Presbyterian Colonies at the Close of the 17th Century."

[11]The correspondence not found in the body of the Records is appended in the form of footnotes, copied from the Letter Book of the Presbytery. Correspondence at first full, becomes less and less, then disappears entirely. It is found again in the "appendix" of later volumes.

[12]Records (1706-1788), op. cit., pp. 45-46. (The records do not show that the Snow Hill Presbytery materialized; no doubt it joined with Long Island.)

[13]Ibid., p. 54n, a letter "To the much honoured and very Reverend Dissenting Ministers at London."

[14]Ibid., pp. 157-160; Briggs, op. cit., pp. 222-272.

[15]Records (1706-1788), op. cit., p. 181, p. 233.

[16]Ibid., pp. 177-288, passim.

[17]Ibid., p. 54n, p. 285.

[18]Ibid., p. 287; Briggs, op. cit., p. 187.

[19]Ibid., pp. 304-309; Records (1706-1788), op. cit., pp. 265-266.

[20]Ibid., pp. 175-176, 219, 223, 227, 228, 290; Briggs op. cit., pp. 304-310.

[21]Records (1706-1788), op. cit., p. 49; p. 139; pp. 245-246, 248, 266, 269; pp. 215, 216, 222; pp. 224, 225.

[22]Briggs, op. cit., pp. 291-292; Records, op. cit., p. 234, 236, 239, 247, 265, 278-283.

[23]Ibid., pp. 94, 95, (1729); p. 127 (1736); p. 286, (Plan of Union 1758).

[24]Samuel J. Baird, compiler, A Collection of the Acts, Deliverances, and Testimonies of the Supreme Judicatory of the Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1856, p. 835, title 2, *8.

[25]Statistical table I in appendix shows the growth of the Pres-

byterian Church between 1706 and 1854.

[26]Briggs, op. cit., pp. 347-349; Curtis P. Nettels, The Roots of American Civilization, New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1938, pp. 644-645.

[27]Records (1706-1788), op. cit., pp. 464-469.

[28]Briggs, op. cit., p. 351.

[29]Ibid., p. 353, quoting Thomas Smythe, Presbyterianism, the Declaration and the Constitution, pp. 32 et. seq.

[30]Records (1706-1788), op. cit., p. 524.

[31]Ibid., p. 546.

[32]Records (1789-1820), pp. 5-21.

[33]Ibid., pp. 102-103; pp. 173-175.

[34]Ibid., p. 202.

[35]Ibid., p. 212, 212n; pp. 224-225; Loetscher, op. cit., p. 53.

[36]Hansche, op. cit., pp. 101-102; Records (1836-1837), pp. 416-417.

[37]Ibid., pp. 418-498.

[38]Records (1838-1841), pp. 7-8.

[39]Hansche, op. cit., p. 103.

[40]Lefferts A. Loetscher, A Brief History of the Presbyterians, Philadelphia: Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1938, p. 62.

Chapter 3

[1]John L. Louis, "Shelby County, A Sociological Study," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. II, (1904) pp. 86-87.

[2]Albert Berhardt Faust, The German Element in the United States, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919, Vol. I, pp. 439-440.

[3]Joseph Eiboeck, Desutchen von Iowa, und deren Errungenschaften, Des Moines: Iowa Staats Anzeiger, 1900, p. 67.

[4]Jacob Conzet, Autobiography, (manuscript) Social Science

Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

[5]H. S. Tanner, "View of the Valley of the Mississippi," The Biblical Repertory and Theological Review, Philadelphia: Russell and Martin, Vol. IV, No. 4, (1832) p. 552.

[6]Faust, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 63-65.

[7]Letter of F. A. Rauch to Corresponding Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, April, 1836, Chicago Theological Seminary. (Hereafter the American Home Missionary Society Correspondence will be referred to as the A.H.M.S. Correspondence, and the Chicago Theological Seminary as C.T.S. The writer has used two sources of the American Home Missionary Society; the Correspondence for letters written by field missionaries, and the Home Missionary and Pastors Journal, New York: American Home Missionary Society, W. Osborne, cited as The Home Missionary for editorial comment and letters printed in the Home Missionary, but which are no longer in the correspondence files.)

[8]Ibid., November and December, 1836.

[9]Dan Elbert Clark, "The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa 1846-1867" Iowa Journal of History and Politics. Vol. VI (1908), pp. 55-87.

[10]Journal of the Senate, 1860, p. 448.

[11]Marcus Lee Hansen, "Official encouragement of Immigration to Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XIX (1921), pp. 172-176.

[12]Faust, op. cit., p. 35.

[13]The Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, October 16, 1902.

[14]The Home Missionary, Vol. VI, (1833), p. 82.

[15]H. Niles, editor, Niles' Weekly Register, Baltimore: The Franklin Press, Water-Street, Vol. XLVII, (1829) p. 148.

[16]See note 2, Chapter 3.

[17]Rauch, A.H.M.S. Correspondence, op. cit.

[18]The Home Missionary, op. cit., Vol. VII, (1834 p. 47.

[19]Niles' Register, op. cit., Vol. LVIII, (1840) p. 224.

[20]The Home Missionary, op. cit., Vol. XIII, (1842) p. 232.

[21]John C. Holbrook, March 8, 1847, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[22]Ephriam Adams, May 15, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[23]The Home Missionary, op. cit., Vol. XXIII, (1850) p. 134.

[24]F. J. Ingman, Guttenberg, Iowa, to the writer, July 10, 1939 (F. J. Ingman has been collecting information about the German element in Guttenberg. The material referred to he supplied the writer from his files.

[25]Probably Council Hill, Clayton County, George Shober Postmaster, Newton D. Wagner, Merenes File, No. 756, This file is housed in the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

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[28]Merenes File, op. cit., No. 174, near the present village of Martelle.

[29]Andreas, op. cit., p. 153.

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[31]Charles Arthur Hawley, "The Historical Background of the Attitude of the Jasper Colony toward Slavery and the Civil War," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXXIV (1936), No. 2, p. 192.

[32]Andreas, op. cit., p. 93.

[33]Probably in the vicinity of West Branch, Iowa, Cedar County.

[34]Merenes File, op. cit., No. 42.

[35]Ibid., No. 128.

[36]Andreas, op. cit., p. 246.

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[38]Ibid., No. 270.

[39]Jean Baptiste Madoulet, January 10, 1852, and April 15, 1852, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[40]The Census Returns of the Different Counties of the State of Iowa for 1856. Showing in Detail, the Population, Place of Nativity,

Agricultural Statistics, Domestic and General Manufactures, etc. Census Board, Iowa City: Crum and Boye, Printers, 1857. (A table of this report is found in the appendix.)

[41]Ninth Census of the United States, 1872, pp. 411, 412, 394.

[42]Census of Iowa for the Year 1895, Des Moines, Iowa: F. R. Conway, State Printer, 1896. Table 22, pp. 304-307.

[43]Census of the United States, Seventh, Vol. I, p. xxxvi; Eighth, Vol. I, iii-liv; Ninth, Vol. I, pp. 338-339; Tenth, Vol. I, pp. 492-495; Eleventh, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 601-602; Twelfth, Vol. I, pp. 732-735.

[44]Ibid.

[45]The Home Missionary, op. cit., Vol. XII (1839) pp. 6-7.

Chapter 4

[1]Jacob Conzet and Johann Launitz, Evangelisches Historishes Yahrbuck fur alle deutscher Confessionen America's, Pittsburgh: Druck von Ernst Luft, 1878, Vol. I, p. 96. (The work of the Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens has been adaquately treated by Carl Schneider, The German Church on the American Frontier, St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1939.)

[2]The Home Missionary, op. cit., Vol. XIV, (1841) pp. 130-131.

[3]Ibid., Vol. XVII, (1844) p. 105.

[4]Ruth A. Gallaher, "The Andover Band," The Palimpsest, Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, Vol. XI (1930), pp. 355-366; Truman O. Douglas, The Pilgrims of Iowa, Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1911; The Congregational Publishing Society, The Iowa Band, Boston: Rand, Avery, and Freye, Printers, 1870, Ephriam Adams, The Iowa Band, Boston; The Pilgrim Press, 1903.

[5]J. C. Holbrook, April 14, 1846, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[6]The Home Missionary and Pastor's Journal, New York: American Home Missionary Society, W. Osborne, Vol. XX (1847), pp. 77-78.

[7]Ephriam Adams, February 1, May 15, and August 8, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence. (American Home Missionary Society Correspondence is housed in Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois).

[8]The writer has not been able to find a copy of Flury's Commission, but the traditional date for renewal of the yearly commission for the church at Dubuque was October thirteenth. To establish

further that year as the date Holbrook wrote on December 17, 1847, "yrs of late date enclosing commission for Br. Flury was duly recd." A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[9]Ferdinand Sprecher, 50 Jahre Prättigauer Krankenhaus und Krankenverein 1881-1931. Schiers: Buchdruckerei Thöeny, Brunner and Co., 1931, p. 8. (There are two names for this Swiss canton: the French, which is Grison, and the German, which is Graubuden. The latter name is used in this paper because it deals with the Germans.

[10]John C. Holbrook, February 25, 1851, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[11]Mrs. Mary C. Ficke, "The First German Pastor in Dubuque," Our German Work, Vol. II (1896), pp. 18-19, 23 (Mrs. Mary Ficke knew Flury).

[12]Jacob Conzett, "The First Presbyterian Church in Dubuque," Der Presbyterianer, Vol. XL (1906), Number 38.

[13]Jacob Conzett, Autobiography (manuscript), Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

[14]Jacob Conzett, "The First Presbyterian Church in Dubuque," op. cit., number 39.

[15]The Home Missionary, Vol. XX (1847) pp. 56-57.

[16]Peter Flury, May 24, 1847, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[17]Ibid., February 4, 1848.

[18]The Home Missionary, op. cit., Vol. XX (1847) p. 56.

[19]Peter Flury, May 24, 1847, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[20]The Home Missionary, op. cit., Vol. XX (1847) pp. 56-57; (Other private schools in Dubuque were being conducted at the same time by individuals or groups: St. Joseph's Academy by the Sisters of Charity was established in 1844; St. Mary's School was begun in 1843 by Bishop Loras. History of Dubuque County, Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1880, pp. 580-581.)

[21]Kirchenbuch der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde von Du Buque 1847, (manuscript) p. 359 f. This record is in possession of the First Presbyterian Church, Dubuque, Iowa.

[22]Deed Record Book E, p. 308, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa.

[23]Peter Flury, February 4, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[24]Kirchenbuch der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde von Du Buque, 1847, (manuscript) p. 359 f.

[25]Peter Flury, May 22, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[26]Ephriam Adams, May 15, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[27]J. B. Chase, Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of the State of Iowa from 1840 to 1855 Including also Early History of Iowa College from Unpublished Documents, with Such Statistics and Reports as are Attainable, Hull, Iowa: Advance Print, 1888, p. 51.

[28]Peter Flury, February 4, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[29]Deed Book F, p. 25, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa.

[30]The German Evangelical Church of Dubuque to the Hon. Committee of American Home Missionary Society, October 4, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[31]John C. Holbrook, October 11, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[32]The Home Missionary, op. cit., Vol. XXI (1849), pp. 234-235.

[33]John C. Holbrook, February 25, 1851, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[34]Ibid.

[35]John C. Holbrook, March 20, September 5, 1851, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[36]John C. Holbrook, October 11, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[37]John C. Holbrook February 25, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

Chapter 5

[1]Ferdinand Sprecher, 50 Jahre Prattigauer Krankenhaus und Krankenverein 1881-1931, Schiers: Buchdrueri Thoeny, Brunner and Co., 1931, p. 10. (The year of his birth is not stated, but in 1849, he gives his age as thirty-nine; letter of July 13, 1849, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.); John C. Holbrook, February 6, 1849, A.H.M.S. Correspondence. J. B. Madoulet, April 13, 1849, A.H.M.S. Correspondence; Andrew Muller, J. Nicolaus Taubald, Deacons of the German Evangelical Church of Dubuque, February 6, 1849, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[2]J. B. Madoulet, April 13, 1849, A.H.M.S. Correspondence (This letter is in the handwriting and style of John C. Holbrook).

[3]J. B. Madoulet, July 13, 1849, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[4]J. B. Madoulet, October 13, 1849, A.H.M.S. Correspondence. Tetes des Morts and French Settlement - now Centralia - each had a large German population. These were centers of German missionary activity until recently.

[5]J. B. Madoulet, March 20, 1850, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[6]J. B. Madoulet, July 13, 1849, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[7]J. B. Madoulet, July 13, 1850, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[8]John C. Holbrook, October 21, 1850, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[9]J. B. Madoulet, April 12, 1851, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[10]John C. Holbrook, July 28, 1851, A.H.M.S. Correspondence. (Madoulet's exploring tours are incorporated in Chapter III).

[11]J. B. Madoulet, October 20, 1851, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[12]J. B. Chase, Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of the State of Iowa from 1840 to 1855 Including also Early History of Iowa College from Unpublished Documents, with Such Statistics and Reports as are Attainable, Hull, Iowa: Advance Print, 1888, pp. 77-79.

[13]Jacob Conzett, "The First German Presbyterian Church at Dubuque, Iowa," Der Presbyterianer, Dubuque, Iowa: Vol. XL (1906), number 43. (Reverend Jacob Conzett was a member of the German church during Madoulet's pastorate. He wrote the article from which the notation is taken fifty-four years after Madoulet's work at Dubuque ended. One must also consider that Conzett had a sharp tongue and was prone to criticize quickly, and sometimes unfairly, those who opposed him.)

[14]J. B. Madoulet, April 15, 1852, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[15]Carl E. Schneider, The German Church on the American Frontier, St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1939, p. 423n3.

Chapter 6

[1]Van Vliet's first name as it appears in his will was not the same by which he is commonly known. There it appears in two different spellings as "Adreanus" and "Adrianus." The latter is correct. Probate Court Records, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa, File Number 833 (Circuit Court File No. 3692) "In the matter of the estate of Rev. Van Vliet"; The Dubuque Daily Times May 10,

1871: "Passenger List," Bark Ceres, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (The Bark Ceres H. Hodge, commanding, docked at New York Harbor from Amsterdam, September 1, 1847.)

[2]The only source available for Van Vliet's birthdate is his tombstone: Linwood Cemetery, Dubuque, Iowa, Lot 3737, grave number 1.

[3]Daniel Grieder, "Adrian Van Vliet," Der Presbyterianer, Dubuque, Iowa: Vol. 42, No. 27. A number of biographical sketches of Adrian Van Vliet are extant in addition to the one cited above. Those to which the author has had access are: Jacob Conzett and Johann Launitz "Ebenslauf des Pfarres Adrian Van Vliet," Evangelisches Historisches Jahr-buch, Für alle deutschen Confessionen Amerika's, Pittsburgh: Druck von Ernst Luft, 1878, Vol. I, pp. 81-93; A. W. Reinhard, "Rev. Prof. Adrian Van Vliet," Kalender für Deutsche Presbyterianische Gemeinden in des Vereinigten Staaten, St. Louis: A. Wiebusch & Son, 1893, pp. 24-32, "Adrian Van Vliet," Our German Work, Dubuque, Iowa: Vol. I (1893), pp. 34-35 and 38-39. All of the above are based on an autobiographical sketch by Van Vliet, which has been lost. Unless cited, the material presented in this chapter is common to all the above records. (The records do not show whether he was reared by his maternal or paternal grandparents.)

[4]Very few dates are given in any of Van Vliet's biographies. No doubt he was obliged to begin his service near his twentieth birthday. He does not mention any interim between his call to the army and his discharge.

[5]The only edition of Bräkel's work the writer has been able to locate is that of 1881, 2 Vol. by J. H. Donner, Leiden, Holland, at Calvin College and Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

[6]Jan Luiken (1649-1712), world famous etcher and engraver. Also a writer of nature, mystical, and religious verses. His best work in the last category is Jesus en de Ziel.

[7]Jacob Van Der Zee, The Hollanders of Iowa, Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1912.

[8]"Passenger List," Bark Ceres, National Archives, Washington, D. C. The full entry on the passenger list of the Ceres is as follows: "Adrianus Van Vliet, Age, 38; sex, male; occupation, tailor; country of which a citizen, Prussia." Listing Van Vliet as a Prussian is hard to explain. It was, perhaps, a clerical error. It could hardly have been to escape further religious persecution. If he came from the province of Brabant, adjacent to Friesland, his accent might have caused the error. However, in his declaration of intention to become an American citizen he lists himself as a citizen of Holland. Declaration of Intention 1834-1856, Dubuque County Court

House, Dubuque, Iowa, p. 1195. Then entry was made in the year 1852. Citizenship was granted August 4, 1857.

[9]Roster of members of the Second Presbyterian Church St. Louis, Missouri, 1838-1920, p. 32, in possession of the Second Presbyterian Church, Westminster Place and Taylor Avenue, Saint Louis, Missouri. (The records of the Houston Street Dutch Reformed Church prior to 1850 cannot be located.)

[10]The Dubuque Daily Times, May 10, 1871.

[11]Ibid.; Van Vliet was admitted to the Second Presbyterian Church on March 3, 1849, and on May 16th of the same year given a letter of dismissal to the "South Presb. Ch. Galena," Illinois.

[12]Galena Daily Advertiser, Friday, May 18, 1849.

[13]Platteville Congregational Church Minute Book, (formerly Presbyterian) Book A or Vol. 1, 1839-1861, Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary, pp. 187, 1, 174-176. (The Platteville Congregational Church effected the change July 7, 1849, and the special legislative act was passed "Feby Eighth AD 1847") (The writer can find no record of Van Vliet having joined the South Presbyterian Church of Galena or any other church in that place.) (Aratus Kent was a real pioneer minister. He and his wife travelled in a covered wagon drawn by a yoke of oxen from St. Louis to Galena in midwinter. He preached the first sermon in Dubuque in 1833.)

[14]Kathleen Beardsley Andrew, The History of the First Congregational Church of Platteville, 1939, pamphlet, pages unnumbered.

[15]This young preacher is not named, but the evidence points strongly to J. Bantly, who was trained by J. B. Madoulet and ordained to the ministry. Later, Bantly, with his congregation joined the Presbytery of Dane (O.S.), Sept. 6, 1854. Records of the Mineral Point Convention of Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers and Churches 1842-1872, (Manuscript) p. 154. In the possession of John Nelson Davidson, Madison, Wisconsin.

[16]Records of the Mineral Point Convention of Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers and Churches 1842-1872, ibid., pp. 120-121, (Sept. 3, 1856) John Lewis was Pastor of the Platteville Congregational Church, S. W. Eaton, Stated Supply of the Lancaster Congregational Church; and J. Bantly, Pastor of the German Evangelical Church of Platteville. The last church followed congregational polity.

[17]Ibid. pp. 129, 133. Rev. J. M. Phillips, Pastor of the Hazel Green Presbyterian Church; Edward Morris, Pastor of the Potosi Presbyterian Church; Calvin Warner, Pastor of the Elk Grove Congregational Church; Samuel W. Eaton, Stated Supply of the Lancaster Congregational Church; and John Lewis, Pastor of the Platteville Congregational Church participated in the ordination services.

[18]Ibid., p. 140.

[19]Carl E. Schneider, The German Church on the American Frontier, St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1939, p. 299n51.

[20]Ibid., p. 300n54.

[21]Ibid., pp. 300-301, 301n55.

[22]Trustees of the German Evangelical Church in Dubuque, May 24, 1853, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[23]Jacob Conzett, "The First German Presbyterian Church in Dubuque, Iowa," Der Presbyterianer, Dubuque, Iowa: 1906, Vol. 40, No. 44.

[24]A. Van Vliet, July 7, 1852, A.H.M.S. Correspondence, (Most of Van Vliet's letters are in the handwriting and style of writers who had better facility in use and spelling of the English language. Those which he composed himself are picturesque in spelling and sentence structure yet lucidly express his ideas.)

[25]A. Van Vliet, January 14, 1853, A.H.M.S., Correspondence.

[26]Until the time of his installation as pastor of the church Van Vliet was a missionary of the Home Missionary Society. The difference is more than technical. While a missionary the Society supported him in part. After he became the pastor of the church the church was responsible for his entire support. He received four hundred dollars a year.

[27]A. Van Vliet, April 8, 1853, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[28]A. Van Vliet, January 5, 1854, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[29]See footnotes 7 and 9, supra.

[30]The Mineral Point Association provided that any church by unanimous consent of the congregation could change from Presbyterian to Congregational form of government or vice versa. It is evident that emphasis was placed on polity and not on Theology.

[31]"Trustees of the Germ: Evangel: Church in Dubuque, Mai" 24, 1853, A.H.M.S. Correspondence. Julius A. Reed's letter is a part of the above correspondence under the date of June 8, 1853. Moreover, John W. Windsor of the Congregational Church of Bellevue, Iowa, under the same date (June 8, 1853) added strong supporting testimony as to Van Vliet's work.

[32]J. B. Chase, Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of Iowa from 1840 to 1855 inclusive,

Hull, Iowa: Advance Print, 1888, pp. 86, 95.

[33]Minutes of the Synod of Iowa, Fourth Session, Davenport, Oct. 12, 1854, p. 62 (Manuscript). Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

[34]Deed Book I, p. 459, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa.

[35]Register, Deutsche Presbyterianis Kirche, Dubuque, Iowa, pp. 1-4; Articles of Incorporation, Vol. II, p. 417, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa.

Chapter 7

[1]J. B. Madoulet, March 20, 1850, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[2]Minute Book of the Congregational Church of Platteville, Wisconsin, Book A or Vol. I, 1839-1861, p. 265, (Manuscript). In possession of Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary, "Mr. A. Van Vliet was appointed a Delegate to a council to be held at Dubuque for the ordination of Rev. J. Bantly."

[3]A. Van Vliet, April 8, 1853, A.H.M.S. Correspondence. The exact date on which Van Vliet began his theological teaching cannot be established. Traditionally it has been in the year 1852. Although no mention is made in his report of January, 1853, to the Home Missionary Society of his work that does not exclude the possibility that he had the young men in his home prior to that time.

[4]"The German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest," Our German Work, Dubuque, Iowa: Vol. VI (1897), Number 1.

[5]Home Missionary and Pastors' Journal, American Missionary Society, New York, New York: W. Osborne, Vol. XIII (1842), p. 100; History of Clayton County, Iowa, Chicago: Interstate Publishing Company, 1882, p. 1116; Jacob Van der Zee, "The Mormon Trails in Iowa," The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, Vol. XII (1914) pp. 3-16; Gallaher, Ruth A., "Icaria and the Icarians," Palimpsest, Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, Vol. II (1921), pp. 97-112.

[6]Jacob Conzett, "The First German Presbyterian Church in Dubuque, Iowa," Der Presbyterianer, Vol. XV (1906), Number 44. (The student was Jacob Conzett).

[7]The Dubuque Daily Times, May 10, 1871.

[8]Ibid. (Jacob Conzett was Van Vliet's fourth student, following his instruction for five years. Conzett's praise is worth much

because it was given sparingly, much more sparingly than criticism.)

[9]Deed Book F, p. 25, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa.

[10]Deed Book I, p. 603, Ibid.

[11]Deed Book I, p. 459, Ibid.

[12]Book 3 Town Lots, p. 58, Ibid.

[13]Jacob Conzett, "The First German Presbyterian Church in Dubuque, Iowa," Der Presbyterianer, Vol XV (1906) Number 46. (Jacob Conzett personally painted the church blue.)

[14]Ibid., "The German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest," Our German Work, Vol. VI (1897) Number 1, p. 2. (The owner of the mortgage is not named by Conzett, nor could the writer discover who held the lien, if it existed.)

[15]Jacob Conzett, Autobiography.

[16]Minutes of the Synod of Iowa 1852-1866, (Manuscript) pp. 1-105 passim., Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa. (Alexander College was the successor to Des Moines College of Ft. Madison and was removed by action of the Synod of Iowa to Dubuque in 1853, and began instruction in 1854.)

[17]This was true of Jacob Conzett and Godfrey Moery.

[18]Records of the Presbytery of Dubuque 1855-1861, (Vol. I) (Manuscript) Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa, pp. 30, 86, 121. (Hereafter the Records of the Presbytery of Dubuque will be cited as Dubuque Presbytery Records.)

[19]Ibid., 1861-1867, (Vol. II) p. 198.

[20]Hanna was the cook and housekeeper.

[21]Book II Account Book of A. Van Vliet and G. Moery, Dubuque, Iowa, October 1, 1859, to ..., Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

[22]Examples of such action is recorded in the Minutes of the Presbytery of Dubuque 1855-1861 "Jacob Conset (Conzett) was recommended to the Board of Education for aid in his studies to amount of 80 dollars per year." P. 17. Mr. Ernst Kudobe, $100.00, p. 39; Godfrey Moery, $100.00, Vol. II, 1861-1867, p. 28, John Arends, $100.00, D. G. Edgington, $80.00, Robert Marshall, $80.00, p. 79, etc. Minutes of the Presbytery of Dane (Wisconsin) 1851-1870 (Manuscript) Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin, "J. Vanderlas submitted a report in reference to the Theological

School at Dubuque recommending an appropriation of $120 for each of our candidates in said-school as follows Viz. Henry Schmidt, John Funk, John Van der Laa Jr. & Hartman Staus, which was accepted and adopted." P. 164. (The Minutes of the Presbytery of Dane, Wisconsin, will hereafter be cited as the Dane Presbytery Minutes.)

[23]"Das Seminar, Alumni des Seminars," Our German Work, Vol. XII, No. 3, (1905), p. 28. The students are as follows: 1856 Andreas Kolb, Jacob Kolb; 1857 Friedrich Schmidt; 1858 F.H.W. Brüchert, Jacob Conzett, Ernest Kudobe; 1861 Ludwig Kliebenstein; 1862 Godfrey Moery, John Berk; 1867 John A. Arends, William H. Behle, Ludwig Figge; 1868 Klaas Smits; 1869 August Busch, John H. Reintz, John U. Tschudy; 1870 John Leierer; 1871 Dirk Borgers, Jacob Brinkema, John E. Funk, Henry Knell, Ed. L. Meinders, Henry Schmitt, Jakob H. Stork, Nicolaus Sulzer, and August Wittenberger. No record of any graduation exercises or granting of degrees appears in the records until much later than period covered in Chapter VII.

[24]"Mary Zumhof and George Zumhof to John Miser, George Ragatz, George Roth, Henry Strobel and Gaspar Floitsch as trustees, and Adrian Van Vliet as pastor of ... first German Presbyterian Church of Dubuque," Book 11 Town Lots, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa, p. 549, Sept. 28, 1863. The consideration was $900.00.

[25]A single example among many will suffice: December 6, 1855, Jacob Conzett was received as a candidate by the Presbytery of Dubuque; May 26, 1858, he was licensed to preach; October 1, 1859 the Presbytery ordained him. Three years later, April 16, 1862, Conzett was sent to the Sherrils Mound German Presbyterian Church as its pastor. Dubuque Presbytery Records 1855-1860, Vol. I, (Manuscript) Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa, pp. 12, 79, 98, Vol. II, 1861-1867, p. 26.

[26]Dubuque Herald, May 10, 1871.

[27]Dane Presbytery Minutes 1851-1870, op. cit., p. 131. There is no corresponding action recorded by the Presbytery of Dubuque.

[28]Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America 1836-1837, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, pp. 416-417.

[29]April 21, 1863, the Presbytery of Dubuque recommended for aid from the Board of Domestic Missions the following churches:

"Pleasant Grove and Bremer Valley, also Leroy, Wilson's Grove (?) to sustain the Rev. John Smalley $200- 12 mos.
"Bellevue $150- 12 mos.
"Barrie, to sustain Rev. J. B. Vawter $100- 12 mos.
"Scotch Grove, Rev. G. L. Wilson $75- 9 mos.
"Sherril's Mount. Rev. J. Conzett, $125- 12 mos.
"McGregor, Rev. Wm. Buehren $125- 12 mos.

"Independence, Rev. J. M. Boggs $125- 12 mos.
"1st Germ. Ch. Dubuque, Rev. A. Van Vliet, $75- 12 mos.
"Hopkinton Church, Rev. Jerome Allen," op. cit., pp. 89-90.

[30]Ibid., pp. 121-122.

[31]Dane Presbytery Minutes 1851-1870, op. cit., p. 134.

[32]Dubuque Presbytery Records 1861-1867 (Vol. II), op. cit., p. 159. The date was October 7, 1864.

[33]Dane Presbytery Minutes 1851-1867, op. cit., p. 136. On date of Oct. 8, 1864.

[34]Record No. 2 German Theological School of the Presbyterian Church of the Northwest, 1864- (Manuscript) Office of the President of the University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa, pp. 1-5. The constitution is also found in the Presbytery of Dubuque Records 1861-1867 (Vol. II), op. cit., pp. 172-177; and in the Dane Presbytery Minutes 1851-1870, op. cit., pp. 136-138. Except for minor deviations in wording the records are in exact duplication. There is no way of knowing which is closest to the original. A copy of the Constitution cited in first source will be found in the appendix.

[35]Presbytery of Dubuque Records, Vol. II, p. 159.

[36]Presbytery of Dane Minutes, p. 139.

[37]"German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest," Our German Work, Vol. VII (1898) No. 2, p. 2.

[38]Presbytery of Dubuque Records, Vol. II, 1861-1867, p. 152.

[39]Jacob Conzett in his Autobiography speaks of having studied science under J. Bantly but the reference is not clear enough to determine whether Bantly was then at Alexander College and was doing some tutoring at the same time for Van Vliet, or if he were employed by Van Vliet full time. The former is probably the case.

[40]Presbytery of Dane Minutes, p. 151, Presbytery of Dubuque Records, Vol. II, pp. 215-216.

[41]Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Vol. XVII 1864-1866, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, pp. 29, 44.

[42]Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 371, 388-390, 631, 657-665, 669-689, 911-917, 1143-1162, 1165-1167.

[43]Ibid., pp. 895, 972-977.

[44]Ibid., New Series, Vol. I, pp. 68-70.

[45]Record No. 2, German Theological School of the Presbyterian Church of the Northwest, op. cit., pp. 5-11.

Chapter 8

[1]Kirchenbuch der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde von Du Buque, 1847, (Manuscript), p. 359. (In possession of the First Presbyterian Church, Dubuque, Iowa.)

[2]Records of the Presbytery of Dubuque 1855-1861, (Vol. I) (Manuscript) Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa, p. 30.

[3]Ibid., p. 86.

[4]Kalender Für Deutsche Presbyterische Gemeinden, Dubuque: Dubuque Presbyterian Press, 1921, p. 65. (The Kalender was established in 1892 by the Convention of German Ministers in the West. An editor was elected annually to collect, arrange, edit, and publish the material. The Kalender was an almanac with Bible readings for each day. It contained in addition: historical sketches of churches, biographical notes on church fathers, founders of German Presbyterianism in the West, members of the Convention, and rolls of German ministers and churches. Although its title varied slightly from year to year it forms a continuous file.

[5]Kalender Für Presbyterische Gemeinden in Ost und West, Dubuque: Western Publishing Company Press, 1904, p. 29.

[6]Kalender, op. cit., 1920, p. 69.

[7]An example of this is the Zoar Gemeinde of Owensville, Missouri: Kalender, 1921, p. 57.

[8]Kalender, 1916, p. 59.

[9]A list of the German churches of the Synod of the West, their founders, and the date on which they were established is found in the Appendix.

[10]See list of German churches in the Appendix; footnote 9 of this chapter. At least one of the churches established by J. E. Drake was organized before he was appointed a missionary among the Germans and at least two were founded after he had returned to regular pastoral work. The records fail to show the eleventh church. (An open letter from the Convention of German Ministers and Elders, incorporated in the State of Iowa, to the Presbyteries throughout the West asking them to urge the General Assembly to appoint a German

missionary to work among the Germans in the West is in possession of the writer. It is dated June 2, 1887, at Franklin Center, Lee County, Iowa.)

[11]J. E. Drake to the writer, Apr. 9, 1941.

[12]Personal experiences as related to the writer. (The churches founded are listed on the table of German churches in the Appendix.)

[13]Peru is an abandoned town about seven miles north of Dubuque in Dubuque County. A. T. Andreas, Atlas of Iowa, 1875, Chicago: A. T. Andreas Co., 1875, p. 87; (Peru Bottom and Peru Road in the vicinity of Dubuque commemorate the town).

[14]Jacob Conzett, Autobiography (Manuscript), Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

[15]Kalender, op. cit., 1902, pp. 40-41.

[16]Ibid., 1900, pp. 33-34.

[17]Ibid., 1901, p. 53.

[18]Our German Work, op. cit., 1905, pp. 50-51.

[19]For example see the Annual Reports of the Board of the Church Erection Fund of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, New York: Published by the Board of Church Erection, also found in the Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

[20]Peter Flury, February 4, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[21]The Dubuque Telegraph Herald, July 6, 1872.

[22]Reports of Missionsfests are found in the Kalender Für Deutsche Presbyterische Gemeindon, op. cit., 1920, pp. 70-72; 1913, pp. 65-69; "Missionary Festivals in Our German Presbyterian Churches," Our German Work, Dubuque, Iowa: Vol. VIII (1900), No. 7; Vol. X, 1902, No. 2, p. 2.

[23]Most of the early German churches had benches instead of pews. In some of the earliest pioneer churches the benches were rough hewn puncheon boards with legs "pegged" into them.

[24]Conzett, op. cit.

[25]The Bible, King James Version, Ecclesiastes 5:1.

[26]Conzett, op. cit.

[27]German Presbyterian churches formed prior to 1851 are as follows: Bethlehem, Union, Missouri, Dec. 1, 1845; Bethel, Bay, Missouri, Aug. 22, 1848. Other German Presbyterian churches founded prior to 1851 were organized in the Congregational faith and later joined the Presbyterian Church.

[28]A list of the German Presbyterian Churches recognized by the Konvention of German ministers and churches is found in the Appendix. The writer has attempted to list all the churches with dates of organization and the name of the founder. The evidence in some cases is still lacking due to lost records, dissolution of the congregation, or both.

Chapter 9

[1]Protokoll der Predigerversamlung der Presbyterianischen Kirche, (Manuscript, Vol. I - 1859-1888), pp. 11, 1. In possession of J. D. Stauss, Owensville, Missouri; Record of Incorporations, Department of State, Des Moines, Iowa, Book No. 1, p. 425.

[2]Protokoll der Konvention deutscher Presbyter des Westens, Dubuque, Iowa, Dubuque Presbyterian Press, 1935, pp. 515-516.

[3]Der Presbyterianer, Vol. I, No. 1; Vol. I, No. 6, Vol. III, No. 1; Protokoll Predigerversamlung der Presbyterianischen Kirche, op. cit., p. 33.

[4]"Gruss," Kalender für Deutsche Presbyterianische Gemeinden auf das Jahr unseres Herrn 1892, St. Louis, Missouri: A. Wiebusch and Son Printing Co., p. 1. No record of the founding of the Kalender is found in der Konvention Protokoll. A gap from 1889-91, for which no record was kept, exists in the minutes. The exact title of the Kalender changed from time to time as also did the place where it was printed. A complete file is to be found at Dubuque Presbyterian Press, Dubuque, Iowa.

[5]Record of Incorporations, Department of State, Des Moines, Iowa: Book Y-2, p. 485; Book K-5, p. 17, Book Q-9, p. 463.

[6]John E. F. Schmidt von der Launitz, My Own Biography, (Manuscript) Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

[7]Protokoll der Predigerversamlung der Presbyterianschen Kirche, op. cit., (Vol. II, 1892-1911), pp. 24, 36.

[8]E. J. Boell, Our Publishing Interests (unpublished manuscript in possession of its author, E. J. Boell), Dubuque Presbyterian Press, Dubuque, Iowa, p. 3.

[9]Gesangbuch für deutsch Gemeinden, enhaltend Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder für öffentlichen und häuslichen Gottesdienst, der Konvention der deutschen presbyterischen Prediger und Aeltesten des Westens, Freeport, Illinois: W. H. Wagner and Sons, 1901; Gute Botschoft Eine Liedersammlung für Sonntogschulen, Jugendverein, Erbuungstunden und Häuslichen Gebrauch, Hereausgegeben im Auftvage der Konvention Deutscher Presbyter des Westens, Dubuque, Iowa: Western Publishing Company, 1911; Protokoll der Predigerversamlung Presbyterianischen Gemeinde, op. cit., (Vol. II, 1892-1911) pp. 25, 26, 39.

[10]Boell, Our Publishing Interests, op. cit., p. 4.

[11]The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Philadelphia: Board of Christian Education, pp. 347-350.

[12]Minutes of the Twenty-fifty Annual Meeting of the Synod of Iowa, Dubuque, Iowa: Telegraph Herald, 1906, p. 585; C. M. Steffens was Financial Secretary of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest, John Rath was from the Presbytery of Waterloo, and J. F. Hinkhouse was a minister in the Presbytery of Sioux City. All three were favorable to the proposed separation. Steffens, by virtue of his position, personality, and training, dominated the committee.

[13]Ibid., Minutes of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Synod of Iowa, 1907, pp. 68-69, 171.

[14]Ibid., Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Synod of Iowa, 1908, pp. 228-229.

[15]Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the Stated Clerk, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, 1907, New Series, Vol. VII, p. 229.

[16]Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1908, pp. 174-176.

[17]Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Synod of Iowa, op. cit., 1908, p. 231. (The committee was composed of W. O. Ruston, C. M. Steffens, Alois Barta, Barnhard Bracker, and C. Loetscher. The first three were on the faculty of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest and belonged to the Presbytery of Dubuque. Loetscher was an elder in the Dubuque Presbytery while Bracker was from the Presbytery of Waukon. It was a closed committee in favor of the German Synod of the West.)

[18]The churchmen to whom these letters were sent are as follows: Joseph C. Robinson, Stated Clerk of the Presbytery of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minnesota; William McKibbin, President of Lane Theological

Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio; Maurice D. Edwards, Stated Clerk of the Synod of Minnesota; William Bryand, General Missionary of Home Missions and Sabbath School Work of the Synod of Michigan; C. T. Edwards, Beloit, Wisconsin; Edward T. Swiggett, Stated Clerk of the Synod of Ohio, John B. Hill, Superintendent of Home Missions in the Synod of Missouri; Charles Stelzle, Superintendent of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and to an unsigned correspondent at Detroit, Michigan.

[19]Cornelius M. Steffens Correspondence, Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

[20]The tables included in the report are compiled from the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Annual Meeting in 1908, New Series, Vol. VIII, No. 2.

[21]"Report of the Synod of Iowa in answer to the Request of General Assembly on German Evangelization," Our German Work, Dubuque, Iowa: 1909 (July), pp. 6-32.

[22]Steffens, op. cit., Correspondence.

[23]Minutes of the General Assembly, op. cit., New Series, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1909, pp. 189-190. (In spite of the arguments opposing separate foreign language judicatories the General Assembly erected the "Presbytery of the Central West (Bohemian) in 1910), Ibid., Vol. X, p. 236.

[24]Ibid., New Series, Vol. XII, p. 164.

[25]Ibid., New Series, Vol. XIII, pp. 893-895; 516-578.

[26]Protokoll der Ersten Jahresversammlung der Deutschen Synode des Westens, August 14-15, 1912, p. 3. (This record was printed by the Dubuque Presbyterian Press although their name does not appear on the reports).

[27]Statistics compiled from: Protokolls der Deutschen Synode des Westens and Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Chapter 10

[1]Jacob Conzett, Autobiography, (Manuscript) Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, New York: Presbyterian Board of

Education, New Series, Vol. I, 1870, pp. 68-70.

[4]Der Presbyterianer, Dubuque, Iowa: Vol. IV, (August 1, 1871) No. 21.

[5]Notes and Subscriptions Given to the German Theological School of Dubuque, (Manuscript) University of Dubuque Social Science Research Library, Dubuque, Iowa: 1871-1881, pp. 1-27; Although the account books are fairly complete for this early period no minute books are extant until the year 1891.

[6]Conzett, op. cit.

[7]Deed Book L, p. 142, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa. Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, April 24, 1904.

[8]Dubuque Daily Times, July 23, 1863; Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, April 24, 1904.

[9]Dubuque Daily Times, July 23, 1863; November 26, 1863; March 25, 1864; April 27, 1864; August 28, 1864; September 17, 1864; Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, April 24, 1904. The Trustees of Griswold College received no deed to the property, therefore, no record of the transfer exists in the Dubuque County Court House.

[10]Deed Book 22 Town Lots, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa, p. 297.

[11]"Trustees of Griswold College versus the Independent School District of the City of Dubuque, Iowa," County Court Record H, Clerks' office, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa, p. 143.

[12]Kalender auf das Jahr unsers Herrn für Deutsche Presbyterische Gemeinden, Dubuque, Iowa: Dubuque Presbyterian Press, 1922, pp. 63-64.

[13]Conzett, op. cit.

[14]Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, New York: Presbyterian Board of Publication, New Series, Vol. I, A.D. 1870, pp. 638-640.

[15]Ibid., Vol. III, 1874, pp. 124-125; Vol. IV, 1876, pp. 129-130.

[16]No minutes of the German Presbyterian Theological School at Dubuque can be found for the first thirty-nine years of its existence. A minute book Record No. 2 was begun in 1864. Although it contains the constitution of 1864, no minutes are recorded until 1891.

[17]Ibid., Vol. VI, 1880, pp. 124-126.

[18]Ibid., New Series, Vol. XV, 1892, pp. 280-283.

[19]Cornelius M. Steffens and Paul P. Faris, Adventures in Money Raising, New York: Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. 46-66; "An Advance Move," Our German Work, Vol. IX (1902), No. 3.

[20]Four minute books have been relied upon for the principal facts covering the period from 1891 to 1923. They are as follows: Record No. 2 German Theological School of the Presbyterian Church of the North West, 1891-1908; Record Book No. 3, Records of the Board of Directors of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest, 1908-1911; Record of the Dubuque German College and Seminary, 1911-1917; Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Dubuque German College 1918-1923. All are to be found in the office of the President of the University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa. Unless otherwise cited the material used in the remainder of this chapter has been drawn from the above sources.

[21]Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, April 24, 1904.

[22]Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, op. cit., New Series, Vol. III, No. 2, 1903, pp. 47, 99, 112, 147.

[23]William Otis Ruston was chosen the first president of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West. He was born in New York City in 1852. At the age of twenty he graduated from New York City College. After spending a period in the study of law he entered Union Presbyterian Theological Seminary from which he graduated in 1875. Although the ministry was his chosen occupation he became a full time professor in the Seminary in 1903. Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, August 3, 1905.

[24]Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, January 19, 1904.

[25]Deed Book 67 Town Lots, Dubuque County Court House, Dubuque, Iowa, p. 565; Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, August 21, 1905; August 3, 1905; April 25, 1906; October 24, 1906; April 23, 24, 25, 26, 1906.

[26]Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, November 18, 1906.

[27]Steffens and Faris, op. cit., passim.

[28]Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, May 6, 1906.

[29]The articles of incorporation were adopted on April 30, 1891.

[30]Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, op. cit., New Series, Vol. I, 1870, p. 69.

[31]Program in possession of the writer, Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, November 13, 1941.

[32]Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, January 26, February 8, 9, 1910; Our German Work, Dubuque, Iowa, Vol. XVI (1910), No. 2, p. 20.

[33]Dubuque Enterprise, April 29, 1905; Frieda Schulz, Anna Rothmeyer, Albert Gros, Max Agerty, Julius Schmidt, Otto Stoempfer, Fritz Lindner, and Willy Schaff were among the actors appearing in Pastor Brose at Dubuque, May 2, 1906.

[34]The records fail to show when Alois Barta was appointed to teach at the German Seminary, however, his first report to the Board of Directors was made in the spring of 1906.

[35]C. M. Steffens superseded W. O. Ruston as president of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West on January 24, 1908. Ruston with characteristic forbearance, modesty, and loyalty stepped down to become Dean, which position he held until his death in 1922.

[36]Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, December 4, 1912, March 15, 1914; Dubuque Enterprise, Vol. 4, No. 28, April 29, 1905; Nolan R. Best, "A New Building and What it Means," The Interior, Vol. XXXVII (1906), pp. 1555-1557; Oliver R. Williamson, "The Seminary that Grew from a Tailor's Table," The Interior, Vol. XXXVIII (1907), pp. 595-1007; William Chalmers Covert, "Thanksgiving Pilgrimage to a Polyglot School," The Interior, Vol. XXXIX (1908), pp. 1591-1593; "Dubuque Seminary's Commencement," The Interior, Vol. XL (1909), p. 606.

[37]Chapter IX, supra., pp. 132-135.

[38]An Index of German Presbyterian Churches, the date founded, and their location is to be found in the Appendix.

[39]Chapter IX, supra., pp. 136-155.

[40]Year Book of the Synod of the West (German), Dubuque: Dubuque Presbyterian Press, 1937, pp. 86-88.

[41]Kalender auf das Jahr unsers Herrn für Deutsche Presbyterische Gemeinden, Dubuque, Iowa: Dubuque Presbyterian Press, 1930, pp. 97-98; 1926, pp. 68-71; 1913, pp. 63-64; and statistical tables in the Kalenders from 1892 to 1930 inclusive.

[42]File of the Graduates of the University of Dubuque, Office of the President, Dubuque, Iowa.

[43]Chapter IX, supra., pp. 155-156.

Chapter 11

[1]The Home Missionary, American Home Missionary Society, New York, New York: W. Osborne, Vol. XVII, (1844) p. 105; John C. Holbrook, April 14, 1846, A.H.M.S. Correspondence, Ephriam Adams, February 1, May 15, and August 8, 1848, A.H.M.S. Correspondence.

[2]Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States 1920, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923, Table 73, pp. 306-307; Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, New Series, 1920, Vol. XX, pp. 895-897.

[3]A survey of German evangelization in the Upper Mississippi Valley by other denominations needs to be done.

[4]Carl E. Schneider, The German Church on the American Frontier, St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1939, has given a careful review of the Missouri Synod and its doctrinal practices.

[5]"Report of the Synod of Iowa in Answer to the Request of General Assembly on German Evangelization," Our German Work, Dubuque, Iowa: The German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West, 1909 (July) pp. 6-32.

[6]C. M. Steffens Correspondence, Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa: Chapter IX, supra., pp. 136-159.

[7]An index of German churches, location, date of founding, and founder is to be found in the Appendix.

[8]Chapter VIII, supra., deals with the expanding program of the German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West.

[9]Peter Flury was from Schiers, Canton Graubünden, Switzerland; J. B. Madoulet was born in Cleve, Germany; and Adrian Van Vliet came from Holland.

[10]Jacob Conzett, for example, came to America in 1846 at the age of twelve. He was, after Van Vliet, the most important influence in developing the Theological School at Dubuque.

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THE CENSUS RETURNS OF THE STATE OF IOWA FOR 1856

County	Germans	Total Population
Adair	18	663
Adams	13	1019
Alamakee	460	7709
Appanoose	20	9075
Audubon	1	283
Benton	102	6247
Blackhawk	204	5538
Boone	14	3518
Bremer	190	3188
Buchanan	173	5125
Butler	14	2141
Calhoun	1	119
Carrol	4	251
Cass	16	815
Cedar	171	9481
Cerro Gordo	5	632
Chickasaw	59	2651
Clayton	2922	15187
Clarke	25	3978
Clinton	1002	13441
Crawford	2	235
Dallas	42	3991
Davis	110	11528
Decatur	59	6280
Delaware	310	8099
Des Moines	2882	20198
Dubuque	4766	25871
Fayette	229	8357
Floyd	32	2444
Franklin	14	780
Freemont	25	3369
Greene	2	1089
Grundy	5	435
Guthrie	0	2149
Harrison	14	1900
Hardin	89	4033
Henry	202	15395
Howard	12	444
Iowa	214	4873
Jackson	1382	14077
Jasper	115	7490
Jefferson	241	13305
Johnson	1602	14457

County	Germans	Total Population
Jones	165	9835
Lee	3428	27273
Linn	316	14702
Louisa	340	9568
Lucas	12	4408
Madison	54	5508
Mahaska	157	13050
Marion	206	14160
Marshall	43	4460
Mills	112	3102
Mitchell	65	1901
Monroe	26	1860
Monona	12	459
Montgomery	2	872
Muscatine	1361	12569
Page	11	1964
Polk	185	9417
Pottawattamie	109	3498
Powieshiek	52	4460
Ringgold	7	1472
Scott	4105	21521
Shelby	0	456
Sac	7	251
Story	18	2868
Tama	164	3520
Taylor	5	2079
Union	9	806
Van Buren	291	15921
Wapello	166	13246
Washington	271	11113
Wayne	23	4183
Webster	55	3088
Winneshiek	471	7506
Wright	3	427

Report on Supplying our German Population with the Means of Grace*

The undersigned, a committee appointed by the Dubuque Association "to draft and present to the General Association, a plan for more fully supplying the German population of this State with the means of grace," would respectfully submit to this body the following suggestions on the subject:

The number of Germans in this State is known to be already very great, and rapidly increasing. Of this population but a small proportion are believed to be Roman Catholics, the great majority having emigrated from the Protestant German countries of Europe. But although they are mostly Protestants, but few are Evangelical Christians, the great mass being Formalists and Rationalists, and not a few avowed Infidels. Nor are there many churches organized among them. Evangelical ministers are extremely rare among their few professed religious teachers, while the advocates of Infidelity are numerous and active. The periodical literature circulated among them, is also to a very great extent infidel in influence. The Germans are emphatically as sheep without a shepherd, and enjoy in a very limited degree any of the divinely appointed means of grace. The Sabbath is almost universally disregarded and is desecrated by labor and amusements, while the children are growing up in almost entire ignorance of the doctrines and duties of Christianity. The prospects, indeed, in a religious point of view of this large class of our population are dark and appalling in the extreme. Some measures must be adopted to disseminate the truths and spirit of the Gospel among them, or they will ere long be totally abandoned to irreligion and become the prey of infidelity. And those measures must be adopted and carried out by American citizens, or they will never be employed. The Germans will no more evangelize themselves than will the formal and nominal communities of the East, the Armenians, nestorians, etc. There must be an influence exerted upon them from without; and in this respect they furnish as legitimate subjects for missionary efforts as

*J. B. Chase, register, Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of the State of Iowa from 1840 to 1855...Hull, Iowa, Advance Print, 1888, pp. 76-79.

any people on the globe. But how shall they be reached and brought under the power of the Gospel? It must be done.

First, by sustaining among them as far as possible an educated evangelical ministry. For this purpose our ecclesiastical bodies should endeavor to associate with themselves German ministers who shall organize churches among their countrymen in accordance with our system of polity, to which, as well as to those already organized, they shall break the bread of life, supported in part by the funds of our missionary societies. We say associate with themselves, for we are satisfied that it is of the utmost importance that both their ministers and churches should be connected with our ecclesiastical bodies and thus be led to fraternize with our ministers and members, and to imbibe their spirit and adopt their views and habits and measures, while at the same time our American ministers and Christians will become more familiar with character and wants and have their interest excited for their welfare. On these accounts such an union of the foreign and native population in ecclesiastical relations is far preferable to separate organizations. Such a connection will also give our Benevolent Societies a greater confidence in their soundness in faith, and guard against a perversion of funds, appropriated for their benefit, to the support of errorists and false teachers.

But while every effort should be made to furnish the German people with a competent ministry, it is certain that it cannot be at present done, from want of men qualified by piety and education for the work. It would be impossible now to secure, a tithe of those required to supply the destitution in this State alone, to say nothing of the country at large. But even if the men could be found, it is extremely doubtful whether the pecuniary means could be raised for their support. It is out of the question then to think of meeting the wants of the Germans in this way. Nor will the system of Colportage, although productive of immense good, meet the exigencies of the case. The labors of the Colporteur are transient, while a steady, permanent and long continued influence needs to be exerted in order to plant and sustain the institutions of the Gospel. And for this the preaching of the Gospel is the divinely appointed instrumentality.

As the only resort then, the Committee would suggest the plan of searching out employing a corps of Lay Preachers to labor among the German population of the neighborhoods in which they respectively reside, and who while not given exclusively to the work of preaching

the Gospel, shall devote sufficient time to study to render themselves useful and edifying in their labors. They should be remunerated for the portion of time employed in those labors, "working" in the meantime "with their own hands," as did Paul, to secure the remainder of their support. They should be men of good common sense, sound judgment and ardent piety, and have such a gift of speaking as should render them acceptable and effective preachers, and be well versed in Christian doctrines. That such men can be found to some extent is certain; and that they should be useful there can be no doubt. They should not supersede a thoroughly qualified and ordained ministry, but prepare the way for it, and be regarded as a temporary instrumentality in default of a better. They should hold a peculiar relation to our ecclesiastical bodies, and under Christ be responsible to them for the character of their teaching, laboring as far as possible under the supervision of ordained ministers in our connection, and should be required to attend our Associational meetings and render regular reports on their labors and operations.

As to the provision for their pecuniary compensation, it is recommended that a committee be annually chosen by this Association to be called "The Committee on German Missions" whose duty it shall be to commission such persons for this service as shall be recommended after due examination, by the local Associations, and to fix their salaries, not exceeding one hundred dollars to each, drawing on the treasurer for the amount. The Treasurer should also be chosen annually by this body, and all money contributed for this object should be deposited in his hands. Contributions should be solicited annually from our churches and individuals in our land.

In addition to these measures, efforts should be made to find out and put in a course of thorough training for the ministry, young men of promise from among the German people. There are doubtless many who might thus be brought into the vineyard as laborers, with proper attention to the subject.

The Committee in conclusion would earnestly press this subject upon the attention of the Association. The German immigration to this country is immense, and the tide is swelling that rolls in upon us, drifting to our shores an incalculable amount of infidelity, superstition and error, which threatens to lay waste and destroy our institutions. Tens of thousands, soon to be increased to hundreds of thousands, of this class of foreigners reach our land annually and form a very important and influential element of our Western population. They cannot be

overlooked and neglected in our plans of evangelization without the most disastrous results. The Germans must be evangelized, and that too by the efforts of American Christians, or it is not difficult to foresee untold evils flowing from their association with us; while if evangelized they will form a most valuable constituent part of our population.

Jno. C. Holbrook,
J. B. Madoulet.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
GERMAN THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
OF THE NORTHWEST*

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

For the glory of God in the preparation of suitable persons for the Christian Ministry among the Germans of the Northwest, the Presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane, belonging to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. do agree to accept from Rev. A. Van Vliet the whole right, title, and control of the Theological School already established by him in Dubuque, Iowa: and do hereby ordain for its management the following Constitution.

Article I. Name.

This Institution shall be Known by the name and style of "The German Theological School of the Northwest."

Article II Presbyteries.

Sec. 1st The two Presbyteries possessing this Institution and any other Presbyteries which may be subsequently united in its ownership, shall have in every respect equal rights and privileges in its entire management and control: and no action shall be taken concerning it, or rescinded, except by the consent of all the Presbyteries interested.

Sec. 2nd The Presbyteries interested may by united action, admit to an equal share in the joint control of this Institution, any other adjacent Presbytery belonging to the same General Assembly, which may express desire for such admission; and may take such other joint action by

*Record No. 2 German Theological School of the Presbyterian Church of the Northwest (1864), Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

united vote, as may be deemed proper for its interests and success.

Article III Directory.

Sec. 1st Each Presbytery thus connected with this Institution, shall appoint four persons from within its bounds, half of whom shall be from its own Ministers, who shall jointly constitute the Board of Directors.

Sec. 2nd The terms of office of these Directors thus chosen shall be two years or until their successors be appointed; except in the case of the first appointment when two persons (One Minister and one layman) shall be chosen to serve for one year, and other like two for two years; and the Presbyteries shall thereafter, each successive year, choose two members of like character to fill the places of these whose terms shall have expired.

Sec. 3rd The Board of Directors shall have entire control of the Institution, both in its temporal and spiritual affairs: shall hold and control the property; establish the Professorships, and appoint the Professors and teachers; direct the course of study; and devise and execute such measures as may be needful for its management, without incurring debt, always subject to the review and control of the Presbyteries interested.

Sec. 4th The Board of Directors shall annually send up a full and complete report of all its proceedings, to the Presbyteries interested, and when required shall exhibit its minutes and other records of accounts or history.

Sec. 5th The Board of Directors shall choose annually a President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall respectively perform such duties as their offices may require. And said Treasurer shall give bonds, in such sum as the Board may designate, for the faithful care and use of such funds as may be committed to his charge.

Sec. 6th The Board of Directors shall hold its first Annual Meeting in the German Presbyterian Church of Dubuque, Iowa on the 3rd Tuesday of October

1864. at 7 P.M. for the purpose of organization; and shall thereafter meet upon its own adjourment, or upon the call of the President with the concurrence of two Members of the Board; except that it shall hold a stated Annual Meeting every fall previous to the Meetings of the controlling Presbyteries, at which time the Annual Report shall be prepared.

Sec. 7th Four members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; but any two members may adjourn from time to time, until a quorum be present.

Sec. 8th Where cases of doubt or difficulty arise in the management of the Institution, in which the Board of Directors may not feel willing to act, they shall refer the same to the controlling Presbyteries.

Article IV The Constitution.

Sec. 1st This Constitution shall go into effect immediately upon its adoption by the Presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane, and the election according to its provisions of Directors; and any amendments to the same which may be suggested by the Presbyteries at the time of its adoption, shall be referred to the Directors then chosen as a joint Committee to recommend future action that may be concurrent.

Sec. 2nd This Constitution may at any time be altered or amended in any part, by the consent of all the Presbyteries; and the Board of Directors shall at all times have the privilege of recommending such measures or amendments for joint adoption, as the interests of the school may seem to them to require.

End.

This Constitution was adopted without amendment by the Presbyteries of Dubuque and Dane, at their fall meetings in 1864.

A. A. E. Taylor.
President Board of Directors

Dubuque, Oct. 1864

Index of German Presbyterian Churches of the Convention
Of German Presbyterian Ministers and Elders in the West

Location and Name of Church	Date Founded	Founder	Citation
		COLORADO	
*Platner			
		ILLINOIS	
Beardstown			
Burton (Memorial)			
Chicago (First)	March 10, 1873	Christian Wisner	Record Book of the First German Presbyterian Church of Chicago, Illinois, 1873-1879.
Fosterburgh (Zion)	Oct. 12, 1867	J. G. Schaible and H. Planke	#Kalender - 1902, p. 38.
Forreston (Forreston Grove)	1864 or 1865	Adrian Van Vliet	Kalender - 1898, p. 38.
Freeport (Third)	1867	John Van der Las	L. H. Tilden, History of Stephenson County, Illinois, Chicago: 1880, p. 498.
Galena	June 1854	A. Van Vliet and J. Kolb	Kalender - 1922, p. 63.
Godfrey (Salem)	Aug. 19, 1869	J. H. Reintz	Kalender - 1902, p. 42.
Harper (Prairie Dell)	Aug. 18, 1871	C. A. Alfelc	Kalender - 1926, p. 76.
Lebanon			
Legal (Ridott)			
Nauvoo	1873		*Presbyterianer - Vol. #8, 1873.
Peoria	1888 or 1889	C. Bremicker	**C.G.W., Vol. II, No. 2, 1893, p. 7.

Rock Island	May 15, 1871	John Bantly	Presbyterianer - Vol. IV #17, June 1.
Scales Mound	1857	J. Kolb	Kalender - 1916, p. 64.
Shapville (Zion)			
Sutterlee (Salem)	May 11, 1880	Friederich Lippe	Kalender - 1899,p. 43.
Wheeling (Zion)	Nov. 2, 1864	J. Schwarz	Kalender - 1912, p. 74.
Woodburn	May 11, 1880	Dr. Armstrong and A. F. Bever	Kalender - 1902,p. 43.
Woodstock (Queen Ann)	May 1, 1854	John Weitzel	History of McHenry County, Illinois, Chicago: 1885, p. 577.
		INDIANA	
Connersville (First)	March 7, 1871	Francis F. Friedgen	Frederick Irving Barrows, History of Fayette County, Indiana, Indianapolis: 1917, p. 437-438.
Jackson Co.			
Shelbyville	1867	Francis F. Friedgen	History of Shelby County, Indiana, Chicago: 1887, p. 376-377.

*In case the name of the church and the town in which it is located are identical the name appears but once. If the name of the church is different it appears after location in parentheses. In every case "German Presbyterian" is not repeated. The index is as yet incomplete due to the writer's failure to locate church records or other sources for all of the churches.

#Kalender: Der Konvention der deutschen Presbyterischen Prediger und Aelteston des Westens, Kalender für Deutsche Presbyterische Gemeinden in des Vereingten Staaten, (1892-1930) Dubuque, Iowa: Dubuque Presbyterian Press, (1892-1916). Date indicates volume.

†Presbyterianer: Der Presbyterianer, Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

* G.G.W.: The German Presbyterian Theological School of the North West, Our German Work (1892-1916), Dubuque: Dubuque Presbyterian Press.

Location and Name of Church	Date Founded	Founder	Citation
		IOWA	
Ackley (Westfriesland, Aetna Township)	June 19, 1865	Adrian Van Vliet and G. Moery	**D.P.M. Vol. II, p. 198.
Ashton	Aug. 18, 1893	J. E. Drake	Kalender - 1916, p. 61.
Breda (Wheatland Township)	Oct. 22, 1876	Rev. W. J. Moffat	Carrol County History, J. S. Clarke, Chicago: 1912, Vol. I, p. 249; Kalender - 1904, p. 50.
Bristo	1907	E. J. Boell	Letter to the writer.
Carnarvon (Emmanuel)	Nov. 13, 1882	C. A. Elfeld	Kalender - 1921, p. 61.
Centralia	1871		~~100 yrs. p. 296.
Clayton City	Sept. 31, 1857 (?)	Adrian Van Vliet	D.P.M., V. I, p. 30.
Cleves (Ostfriesland)	Oct. 4, 1864	Adrian Van Vliet and G. Moery	Kalender - 1998, p. 48.
Dubuque (First)	Dec. 25, 1847	Peter Flury	Kirchenbuch der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde von Dubuque, 1847, p.357.
Dyersville	July 5, 1858	Adrian Van Vliet	D.P.M., V. I, p. 86.
Franklin (St. Peter's)	March 6 & 7, 1860	Adrian Van Vliet and F. H. Bruechart	Kalender - 1926, p. 73.
George (Ebenezer)			
George (Lyon Co.)	May 31, 1887	K. B. Wieland and Geo. Fraker	Kalender - 1921, p. 65.
George (Zion)	July 14, 1904	Wortmann	Kalender - 1907, p. 42.
George (Zoar)	May 29, 1894	J. E. Drake	Kalender - 1912, p. 76.
Grove Hill			
Grundy Center (First)	Nov. 11, 1904	E. J. Boell	Kalender - 1907, p. 43. Personal.
Grundy County (Second)	1872		Presbyterianer, May 1, 1874, No. 15.

Holland	June 11, 1871	J. Van der Las	Kalender - 1902, p. 39.
Independence	July 7, 1858	Adrian Van Vliet	D.P.M., Vol. I, p. 86.
Kamrar	Feb. 19, 1875	J. K. Arends and Jacob Brinkema	O.G.W., Vol. II, #2, 1893, p. 7.
Kesley	April 3, 1921		100 yrs., p. 298.
Lansing	May 2, 1869	J. Frothingham	Kalender - 1917, p. 56.
Leroy			
Lycurgus	Aug. 10, 1856	Adrian Van Vliet	D.P.M., V. I, p. 30.
McGregor (First)	May 7, 1862	Adrian Van Vliet, Jacob Conzett, and Wm. Buchren	Minutes of the Session of the Presby. Church of McGregor, Iowa, 1862-1914.
Matlock (First)	June 11, 1905		Kalender - 1907, p. 42.
Monticello			
Mt. Pleasant	1865		100 yrs., p. 295.
Muscatine	June 1, 1855	Adrian Van Vliet, Rev. Samuel Baird	Muscatine County History, Chicago: Western Publishing Company, 1879, p. 529.
Nora Springs (Eden)	May 22, 1887	L. Kliebenstein and L. H. Hayenga, Jacob Decker	Kalender - 1909, p. 61.
Ottumwa	1870		100 yrs., p. 296.
Pella (Holland)			
Ramsey (Germania)	Nov. 5, 1878		100 yrs., p. 296.
Richland	April 28, 1869		100 yrs., p. 295.
Richland Center	1874		100 yrs., p. 296.
Rock Rapids (Ebenezer)	1894	J. E. Drake	Correspondence
Round Hill			
Rowley	1889		100 yrs., p. 297.
Rudd (Eden)	May 22, 1887		100 yrs., p. 296.
Sherrils Mound (Sherril)	June 25, 1859	Adrian Van Vliet	D.P.M., V. I, 86.

**D.P.M.: Records of the Presbytery of Dubuque (1855-1867, 2 Volumes) Social Science Research Library, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa.

**100 yrs.: J. F. Hinkhouse and W. M. Evans, One Hundred Years of the Iowa Presbyterian Church, Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Laurance Press, 1932.

Location and Name of Church	Date Founded	Founder	Citation
		IOWA (continued)	
Sibley (Emanuel)	May 31, 1892	J. E. Drake	Kalender - 1926, p. 64.
Sibley (Hope)	1894	J. E. Drake	Kalender - 1909, p. 67.
Sioux Centre (Sioux Co.)	1887		100 yrs., p. 297.
Steamboat Rock	Nov. 21, 1910	J. E. Drake, F. W. Engelke, A. C. Kruse	Kalender - 1920, p. 68.
Stacyville (Union)	Dec. 8, 1874	H. Knell, Herr Steffen, Jacob Kolb	Kalender - 1911, p. 72.
Stacyville (Rock Creek)			
Waukon (Bethlehem)	Jan. 23, 1896	M. C. Buettel, Wortmann	Kalender - 1907, p. 42.
Waterloo	Jan. 31, 1870	F. F. Yoth	Presbyterianer, Dubuque, 1870, Feb. 15, #10.
Woden	April 19, 1910	J. E. Drake, F. W. Engelke, A. C. Kruse	Kalender - 1920, p. 69.
York	1863		
		KANSAS	
Cleflin (Salem)			
Galveston (First)			
Holton	April 14, 1876		Corporations, Secretary of State's Office Capitol Building, Topeka, Kansas, Vol. VII, p. 298.
Mulberry Creek	July 14, 1875	F. Schmidt	The History of the State of Kansas, Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1883, p. 1319.
Riley	1872		Kalender - 1916, p. 59.

MINNESOTA

Clara City (Rhiderland)			
Doran	May 10, 1906	E. J. Boell	Kalender - 1907, p. 44.
Ellsworth (Zion)	Nov. 15, 1898	J. E. Drake	Kalender - 1926, p. 71.
Kaneranze (Ebenezer)			
Renville (Ebenezer)	Jan. 9, 1906	Benjamin Swede, Sr.	Kalender - 1907, p. 41.
Rolling Stone			
Rushmore (Bethel)	April 24, 1900	Christian H. Gravenstein	Kalender - 1924, p. 74.
Rushmore (Emmanuel)	July 31, 1901	Henry F. Sinning	C.G.M., V. 16, 1910, p.8.
Rushmore (Ostfriesland)	June 14, 1909	H. N. Gerdes, F. S. Tracht, A. F. Proett	Kalender - 1924, p. 75.
St. Paul (Bethlehem)	Dec. 25, 1887	Niclaus Bolt	Kalender - 1896, p. 28-29.
St. Paul (Augustina's)			
Winona	Feb. 17, 1864	J. Kolb	Kalender - 1900, p. 12.
Winona (Frank Hill)			

MISSOURI

Bay (Bethel)	Aug. 22, 1848	P. F. Meyer and J. F. Fenton	Kalender - 1897, p. 34.
Boerger's Store or Berger Station (Salem)			
Drake (Emmanuel)			
Fulton (German)			
Hermann	1862		Presbyterianer #7, 1868.
Hope (Salem)	186-(?)		Kalender - 1924, p. 21.
Owensville (Emmanuel)	1858	Pastor J. G. Schaible	Kalender - 1920, p. 65.
St. Louis (First)	May 18, 1863	Presby. of St. Louis	Kalender - 1892, p. 32.
St. Louis (Second)	July 4, 1876	F. H. Auf der Heide	Kalender - 1917, p. 53.
Swiss (Nazareth)	1858		Presbyterianer, Nov. 2, 1889, p. 6.
Swiss (Zion)	1858		Presbyterianer, Nov. 2, 1889, p. 6.

Location and Name of Church	Date Founded	Founder	Citation
		MISSOURI (continued)	
Union (Bethlehem)	Dec. 1, 1845	Phil. J. Heyer	Presbyterianer, Apr. 6, 1889, p. 3.
Woolam (Zoar)	Aug. 16, 1858	J. G. Schaible	Kalender - 1921, p. 58.
		NEBRASKA	
Alexandria (Neridian)			
Alexandria (Thayer)			
Ayer (Mt. Pleasant)			
Campbell	Sept. 18, 1889	A. C. Stark	Kalender - 1911, p. 74.
Glenville			
Hastings	1888	Rev. Morton, J. Brinkema, A. C. Stark	Presbyterianer, Dec. 15, 1888, p. 3.
Hastings (Hanover)	May 8, 1887	A. C. Stark	Kalender - 1918, p. 53.
Hickmann	Aug. 27, 1871	J. Schaible and G. L. Littel	Kalender - 1898, p. 39.
Kearney	1872	R. N. Gould	History of Nebraska, Chicago, A. T. Andreas, Vol. I, p. 426.
Lexington (Buffalo Grove)	June 10, 1883	F. W. Bruechert and J. Branch	Session Minutes of the Buffalo Grove German Presbyterian Church, p. 1-3.
Lexington (Salem)			
Omaha (First)	Dec. 19, 1880	F. H. W. Brüchert	O.G.W., V. VIII, #9, p.2; Kalender - 1904, p. 35.
Plattsmouth	Sept. 10, 1876	J. Swartz	History of Nebraska, Chicago: A. T. Andreas, Vol. I, p. 484.

Rosemont (Oak Creek)	July 9, 1888	Brinkema	Kalender - 1924, p. 80.
		OHIO	
Cincinnati (Fairmount)	July 31, 1887	H. W. Seibert	Kalender - 1901, p. 53.
Cincinnati (First)	1850		
Cincinnati (Second)	May 13, 1867	G. W. Winnes	Kalender - 1893, p. 46.
Newark (Salem)			
Portsmouth (First)	Oct. 29, 1866	Rev. Veight	O.G.W., XI, 1904, #4, p.1.
Toledo (First)			
Westwood	April 3, 1871	F. C. Monfort, J. Lichtenstein, G. W. Winnes	Kalender - 1910, p. 70.
		OREGON	
Betnany	Feb. 9, 1873	H. Gauss	O.G.W., XII, 1905, #3, p. 57.
Portland (Zion)	Feb. 21, 1905	Presbytery of Portland, A. W. Reinhard	O.G.W., XII, 1905, #3,
		SOUTH DAKOTA	
Avon	May 3, 1911	George Presbytery	Presbyterianer, Feb. 26, 1910, p. 4.
Emery (First)	Nov. 1887	L. Figge	Kalender - 1925, p. 83.
Lennox	Jan. 5, 1880	Pastor Figge, Pastor Peterson, Pastor Currence	Kalender - 1901, p. 51.
Lennox (Ebenezer)	Dec. 6, 1888	Presby. of South Dakota	Presbyterianer, Jan. 26, 1889, p. 5.
Marion Junction (Emanuel)	April 15, 1899	Ph. Witte	Kalender - 1904, p. 29.
Lennox (Germantown)	May 5, 1886	W. J. Hill, Ludwig Figge, I. B. Boughton	Year Book of the Synod of the West (German), Dubuque, D. P. Press, 1937, p. 33.

Location and Name of Church	Date Founded	Founder	Citation
		SOUTH DAKOTA (continued)	
Rock Rapids (Ebenezer)	1894 (?)		Presbyterianer, Feb. 22, 1890, p. 3.
Salem	1897	J. E. Drake	Letter to the writer.
Spirit Lake (DeSmet)	April 29, 1908	Central Dakota Presby.	Presbyterianer, July 18, 1908, p. 7.
Tea	1897	J. E. Drake	Letter to the writer.
Tripp			
Twin Brooks	Oct. 15, 1909	S. G. Manus	Presbyterianer, Feb. 26, 1910, p. 4.
Willow Lake	Dec. 4, 1902	E. J. Boell	Kalender - 1924, p. 77.
		WISCONSIN	
Belcit	June 2, 1869	Milwaukee Presbytery	Presbyterianer, Aug. 24, 1869, p. 3.
Boscobel (Manon)			
Dodgeville			
Hazel Green	1852	John Bantly	C. W. Butterfield, History of Wisconsin, p.753.
Hurricane			
Lancaster			
Madison (St. Paul's)			
Marion	June 18, 1871	Ernst Kudobe	Presbyterianer, Vol. IV, 1871, July 1, #20.
Mauston			
Middleton			
Milwaukee	May 3, 1891	J. F. Jungeblat	Kalender - 1903, p. 48.
Milwaukee (Hope)	1904		D.G.W., Jan. 1905.
Platteville	1850	John Bantly	C. W. Butterfield, His-

Rockville	1850	John Bantly	tory of Wisconsin, p.732. C. W. Butterfield, History of Wisconsin, p.772.
Stritzer (Liberty) West Granville	April 9, 1860	E. Kudobe	Presbyterianer, #2, July 14, 1886.
West Granville (Richfield) Wheatland	April 17, 1872	Milwaukee Presbytery	Presbyterianer, June 6, 1906, p. 4.

Growth of the Presbyterian Church - 1706 - 1854†

Year	Ministers	Presbyteries	Year	Ministers	Synods	Presbyteries	Year	Ministers	Synods	Presbyteries
1706	7	13x	1791	74	4	9	1820	741	11	59
1710	10	16x	1792	177	4	17	1821	734	11	62
1716	17	1	1793	160	4	14	1822		12	66
1720	27	3	1794	187	4	19	1823		12	71
1730	28	3	1795	177	4	20	1824		13	77
1740	50	6	1796	173	4	21	1825	1080	14	81
1742†	38	5	1797	152	4	15	1826	1127	16	86
1746a	22	3	1798	247	4	23	1827	1214	16	89
" b	29	3	1799	266	4	25	1828	1285	16	90
" c	51	6	1800	183	4	17	1829	1393	19	92
1748a	23	3	1801	190	4	16	1830	1491	19	98
" b	39	3	1802	224	4	28	1831	1584	20	104
" c	62	6	1803	322	7	31	1832	1730	21	110
1750a	23	3	1804	130	7	27	1833	1855	22	111
" b	44	4	1805		7	31	1834	1914	23	118
" c	67	7	1806		7		1835		23	123
1752a	21	3	1807	330	7	29	1836	1972	23	128
" b	55	5	1808	317	7	26	1837	2140	23	135
" c	76	8	1809	392	7	32	1838	1690	19	107
1754a	24	3	1810	434	7	36	1839	1243	17	96
" b	67	5	1811	460	7	39	1840	1221	17	96
" c	89	8	1812	469	7	39	1841	1304	17	99
1756a	20	3	1813		8		1842	1316	19	101
" b	70	6	1814	511	9	40	1843	1434	19	105
" c	90	9	1815	520	10	41	1844	1523	21	112
1758	94	9	1816	511	10	43	1845	1562	21	115
1760	105	8	1817	536	10	46	1846	1647	22	115
1765	99	9	1818	625	11	47	1847	1713	22	118
1770	121	9	1819	687	11	53	1848	1803	23	117
1775	143	11					1849	1860	23	122
1780	130	11					1850	1926	23	127
1785	153	14					1851	2027	23	134
1788	177	16					1852	2039	25	140
							1853	2139	28	145
							1854	2203	30	148

x Churches before Presbytery formed

† New Brunswick Presbytery absent

a. Philadelphia Synod

b. New York Synod

c. The aggregate

† Adapted from: S.J. Baird, Acts, Deliverences, and Testimonies of the Presbyterian Church, Presby. Bd. of Pub. Phila., 1856, pp. 835-836.

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